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From the pyramids to Paul

FROM THE
PYRAMIDS
TO
PAUL



George L. Robinson

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From the Pyramids to Paul

STUDIES IN THEOLOGY
ARCHAEOLOGY AND
RELATED SUBJECTS

*Prepared in Honor of the Seventieth Birthday
of*

George Livingstone Robinson

PH.D., D.D., LL.D., S.T.D.

Professor of Biblical Literature and
English Bible in the
Presbyterian Theological Seminary
Chicago, Illinois

by

Former Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends

Edited by Lewis Gaston Leary

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The seminary which Professor Robinson has so faithfully served for nearly forty years would join in the honor extended to him through the publication of this volume, and, personally, I count the privilege of writing these few lines as a rare compliment.

The work of a great teacher will ever be superlative. A great teacher is not so much to be defined as to be instinctively recognized. A clear discernment, backed by a loving heart which shows interest in and affection for the individual student; these are some of the qualities which evidence superlative worth.

Such a teacher is George L. Robinson. His unfailing warmth of good nature has endeared him to all his associates, and his signal ability in the classroom is recognized by all who have studied under him. Clear, forceful, impulsive, dynamic, imaginative, illuminating, inspiring, illustrative and thought-provoking; he has made the Old Testament live again before his students and has revitalized its sacred pages by his broad scholarship and his rich, winsome personality.

I regret that I must write from the viewpoint of a colleague on the faculty, rather than as one who had the privilege of sitting in his classrooms as he opened and illumined the Word of God.

JOHN TIMOTHY STONE

March 1, 1935.

PREFACE

Unlike Minerva, this book did not spring full-grown from anyone's head, or even from a group of heads. The original intention to publish only papers by former holders of the seminary fellowships, for whose establishment Professor Robinson was so largely responsible, was soon extended to include chapters from his professorial colleagues and other friends who were no less anxious to take this opportunity of showing their affection and esteem for him.

The book has grown, too, in its scope. It was first planned that each chapter should deal with some phase of Biblical archaeology, to which Professor Robinson himself has made such notable contributions; but it was finally decided to permit each author to choose his own subject, and let the unity be that of a common purpose rather than a single theme.

From a strictly historical viewpoint the title is open to the criticism that it is not fully inclusive of the contents. Yet from the viewpoint of Christian thought Paul is still the *terminus ad quem*, and it seems a very happy coincidence that the arrangement of chapters according to the alphabetical order of their authors' names brings the book to a close with the oldest contributor's mature and inspiring interpretation of the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection.

The project has not only grown and changed in content; it has also been subject to unavoidable shrinkage. For if papers had been accepted from all those who proved eager to contribute, it would have been necessary to pub-

lish several volumes the size of this one. Therefore, very regretfully, the editor has been forced to omit even some of the chapters (including his own) that had been provisionally selected, and those that were finally chosen had, in some instances, to be considerably shortened.

Editorial revisions other than merely typographical ones have been submitted to, and approved by, the authors, with the exception of Professor Reischauer of Tokyo, and printer's proofs have also been read and corrected by every author who is now in the United States or Canada.

I am indebted to Dr. Ludlow Bull of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for reading the proofs of Mr. Seele's chapter, to Professor F. V. Winnett of the University of Toronto for reading the proofs of Professor Jeffery's chapter, and to all the authors for the sympathetic co-operation in the solution of difficult editorial problems and the cheerfulness with which they have consented to sometimes very drastic abridgment of the valuable material they had so generously contributed. Throughout all the making of this book there has been manifested the genial, friendly spirit which is so characteristic of him in whose honor it is published.

LEWIS GASTON LEARY

New York, N. Y.
March 15, 1935.

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The asterisk following the name of an author indicates a former pupil of Professor Robinson at Knox College, Toronto, McCormick (now the Presbyterian) Theological Seminary, Chicago, or the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem.

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FROM THE
PYRAMIDS
TO
PAUL

GEORGE LIVINGSTONE ROBINSON

BY GILBERT WILSON

THE cherished friend to whom this book is dedicated was born August 19, 1864, in West Hebron, New York. His father, William Robinson, was a godly farmer who never omitted family prayers morning and evening and who on Sunday afternoons often took one or another of his sons to the haymow to talk about the claims of the Gospel ministry. To this appeal two of the sons, William and George, responded; the other son, Charles, chose the kindred vocation of teaching, which was not surprising in view of the fact that before her marriage his mother, Mary Elizabeth Archibald, had taught in Salem Academy. The Robinson home was one of song as well as of piety and intelligence; the mother was quite musical and the father was not only an elder in the United Presbyterian Church of West Hebron, but for twenty-eight years was the leader of the choir.

The second son, George, is a product of many schools and many educational and religious influences. As a boy he passed quickly from the district school, through the West Hebron Academy and the Washington Academy of Salem to the Fort Edward Collegiate Institute, where he prepared for Princeton University, from which he graduated in 1887 with the high honor of "general excellence," having won prizes in oratory and knowledge of the Bible. He later received the degree of A.M. from Princeton.

A month at Mount Hermon in the summer of 1886

turned his attention more definitely toward Christian service and deepened his interest in foreign missions; so for three years he served as instructor in the Syrian Protestant College (now the American University) at Beirût, traveling in Palestine and Egypt during his summer vacations and acquiring a very considerable knowledge of the languages, customs, peoples and problems of the Near East.

From 1890 to 1893 he was a student at Princeton Theological Seminary, where a distinguished course of study reached its climax when he won the Hebrew fellowship for a year's study abroad, which fellowship was renewed in the following year. He first studied in Berlin, but later transferred to Leipzig, where he received his Ph.D. in July, 1895. His doctorate dissertation was on Zechariah 9-14, defending the unity of authorship of the prophecy. For this he received the citation, *summa cum laude*, and his examinations in Semitic languages, philosophy and ancient history were graded *magna cum laude*.

While studying abroad he married (March 27, 1894) Miss Jessie Patton Lee Harvey of Cairo, Egypt. She was the daughter of United Presbyterian missionaries, a woman of keen intellect, rare sweetness of character and deep religious devotion, and their union was a singularly happy one until her death in 1918.

Returning to the United States in 1895, the youthful scholar waited three months before he received an invitation to preach before any church as a candidate for its pulpit. Then one Saturday four invitations came in a single mail; as they did not conflict in date, Dr. Robinson accepted them all. From January to September, 1896, he enjoyed a very happy pastorate in the Roxbury Presbyterian Church of Boston, which was interrupted, however, by two calls to the professoriate, one to the chair

of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis of Knox College, Toronto, and the other to McCormick Theological Seminary (now the Presbyterian Theological Seminary) in Chicago. He accepted the former call, and for two years was the idol of the student body of Knox College, a great social favorite in Toronto, and a preacher who was constantly in demand throughout the Province of Ontario.

McCormick Seminary, however, repeatedly renewed its invitation, and in 1898 was successful in adding Professor Robinson to its already splendid faculty. For seventeen years he occupied the chair of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis; during the past nineteen years he has been professor of Biblical Literature and English Bible. Through all these years he has enjoyed the affection of his colleagues, the confidence of the Church, the enthusiastic regard of his students, and the admiration, esteem and affection of multitudes who have come under the influence of his public lectures, his written works and his sermons. Few seminary professors have been privileged to touch humanity so broadly, deeply and inspiringly.

During these years Professor Robinson, besides many shorter vacations, has enjoyed three extended leaves of absence. In 1900 he went with his family to Egypt, and from there on camel-back he explored the Sinaitic Peninsula and Kadesh-Barnea—forbidden parts in those days. On the journey from Jerusalem to Petra and return he slept on the ground thirteen out of the nineteen nights. It was on this hazardous trip that he discovered the "Great High Place" at Petra in Mount Seir. He revisited the same territory on his second long leave of absence in 1907, and this time traveled not only through Palestine,

Egypt, and Sinai, but also ascended the White Nile over a thousand miles from Khartum to Uganda.

In 1913 he was given leave to spend a whole year as director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and, as usual, his family accompanied him abroad. With his students in archaeology he revisited both Petra and Sinai, and also traveled extensively in Egypt and Palestine and eastward to Aleppo, Antioch and Carchemish, the ancient capital of the Hittites on the Euphrates River.

Though a specialist in his chosen field of Oriental archaeology, Professor Robinson early recognized the importance of popularizing the knowledge of the Bible. Every year, therefore, has seen him radiating from Chicago to speak to summer schools, assemblies and Chautauquas, besides preaching in widely separated cities. Some of his most popular lectures have naturally grown out of his travels and archaeological studies in the Near East, but his great themes have been drawn from the Bible itself.

In addition to numerous interesting brochures, he has published the following larger and more formal works:

Leaders of Israel, 1906. Now out of print after a sale of more than ten thousand copies. This book illustrates the author's constant purpose of familiarizing students with the subject matter of the Bible itself. Around the life-stories of the heroes of Israel he has constructed a brief elementary introduction to the history of the Hebrew people.

The Book of Isaiah, 1910. A remarkable piece of constructive criticism and sound exegesis.

The Twelve Minor Prophets, 1926. Probably the best short treatment of the subject that has yet been written. It has already passed through three editions.

Where Did We Get Our Bible? A concise summary of what must have been a series of extremely interesting and informing lectures, throughout which accurate scholarship, sound judgment and deep reverence are everywhere in evidence.

The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization, 1930. Up to the present time, this is his *magnum opus*. Every page of this masterpiece about Petra, Edom and the Edomites reflects original investigation. It is the ripe fruit of thirty years of Oriental study and travel, and in special preparation for its writing the author visited Petra, "the gem of the desert," no fewer than five times. (Since its publication he has made his sixth visit to the Edomite capital.) Our intrusive twentieth century has sent many scholars and explorers to the enchanting and long-forgotten rock-city; but it was the special merit and the rare good fortune of Professor Robinson to be not only a pioneer in this field but to be also the discoverer and critical appraiser of the Great High Place of Petra, which has been called the most imposing public sanctuary in the most imposing desert city of the Near East. His *Sarcophagus* is, therefore, a complete and definitive piece of work that will not need to be done again; it is a book which, as James Breasted says, "worthily crowns his many years of devotion to these things."

The public services of Professor Robinson have been manifold and widespread. He is a charter member of the Religious Education Association. For seventeen years he has contributed to the Westminster Press notes on the International Sunday School Lessons. He has also prepared hundreds of articles for outstanding religious periodicals and for works such as *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, *Diction-*

ary of the *Apostolic Age*, and *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, James Orr's *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, and the Jacobus-Zenos *New Standard Bible Dictionary*. His extensive contributions to Biblical scholarship have been recognized by the degrees of Doctor of Divinity from Grove City College, Doctor of Laws from Wooster College and Macalester College, and Doctor of Sacred Theology from Knox College, Toronto.

During two summers, 1930 and 1934, he has preached in England and Scotland on invitation of the London Council of Interchange Preachers, occupying such famous pulpits as those of St. George's West in Edinburgh, the Frogna! Presbyterian Church in London and St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. The fact that during the World War Professor Robinson had vigorously and fearlessly denounced the essentially unchristian nature of that international slaughter, lent added force to the magnificent sermon that he preached last summer (1934) at St. Martin-in-the-Fields on "Our Greatest Need—A New International Conscience." He has also spoken twice by special request before the General Assembly of the United Church of Scotland. Men and women who have been inspired and uplifted by his ministry are to be found on every continent, and students taught by him are proclaiming the Gospel of Christ in almost every land.

In addition to a vast preaching itinerary at home and abroad, he has traveled once to Uganda, twice to Palmyra in the Syrian Desert, three times to Mount Sinai, six times to Petra, eight times through Egypt and Palestine, and twelve times through Great Britain and Ireland. It is no wonder that Knox College sought to get him back again—this time to a principalship in the Canadian Church, that professional and editorial chairs have often

been offered him, and that overtures to accept challenging pastorates have come to him from influential churches in the largest cities in the United States.

Only a man endowed with a tremendous physique and robust health could have performed such large tasks. Almost gigantic in stature, Professor Robinson has been impervious to fatigue and has never known what physical pain is. At the age of seventy his capacity for hard work and zest for living are those of the average man of forty. A sunny disposition, a kindly and optimistic attitude toward life, a simple, childlike and profound faith in God; these have all contributed to his health and his long continued usefulness. His second marriage, to Miss Lillian Vischer Mueller in 1920, has greatly increased his happiness in recent years, and two children of each of his marriages survive. Henrietta is the wife of the Rev. John R. McMahon, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Wausau, Wisconsin; William Harvey is on the staff of the Continental Illinois Bank of Chicago; Mary-Lee died at the age of seven; Helen Elizabeth and David Livingstone are still in their school days.

Professor Robinson has long been president of the Tract and Missionary Society, the doyen of the Irving Club, a great servant of the Church in education and in many missionary and philanthropic endeavors. In the troublous times through which the city of Chicago has so often passed, he has been enthusiastically and continuously active for civic reform. His services in the cause of international peace and good will have been unstinted and noteworthy.

His students will always remember him for his sound scholarship, his enthusiasm for hard work, his interest in their own success, his geniality and charity, his indomitable

patience and unmistakable sympathy, his catholicity of spirit, his serenity and courtesy, his reverence for the Bible, and his profound personal trust in God and passionate loyalty to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

To all who have known him, he has been a colorful and captivating personality. To multitudes of ministers he has been a true leader, a prophetic voice, a trusted and beloved friend on whose ready and efficient sympathy they could always count in their dark, confused and lonely hours. To the thousands of young men who have had the privilege of studying under and with him, he has been an inspiring preceptor, a trusted and loyal friend and helper, "a spirit bright with something of celestial light," a Christian teacher whose words were profound and luminous because of an inner radiance which was not solely of his schools nor all of earth.

So to George Livingstone Robinson, at three score and ten, there rises from near and far a multitudinous chorus of honor, gratitude, love and well-wishing.

Ave atque floreat!

THE HORITES IN PALESTINE

BY WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

A FEW years ago the name and identity of the Biblical Horites were veiled in seemingly impenetrable obscurity, and the occasional efforts to pierce the veil failed to commend themselves to critical historians. Now the Horites have become almost as well known as the Hittites—theyself an enigma less than thirty years ago. But the emergence of the Horites is being accompanied by so much speculation that it is difficult for the student to obtain a clear idea of their rôle. Hence it may not be without value to present a somewhat sketchy survey of the present state of our knowledge of them, followed by a brief discussion of their place in the early history of Palestine.*

For practical purposes it seems best to begin with a general account of the Hurrians or Khurrians—their geographical spread and political history, their language and literature, social organization, religion, artistic culture, etc.—before considering their place in Biblical history. If this order of treatment seems to beg the question at issue, it at least places the student in possession of the necessary material before discussing problems which arise from its existence.

* An excellent idea of the state of our knowledge a few years ago may be obtained from the discussion on pp. 316-327 of Robinson's *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization*, New York, 1930. In the writer's introduction (pp. xiv f.) he called attention to the new material, indicating at the same time its tentative character. Since this was written, our material has greatly increased, so that we may now expand and demonstrate views which were then subject to caution.

The first hint that there ever had been such a people as the Khurrians came in 1889, when a large cuneiform tablet in the Berlin Museum, which had just been found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, was published, and proved on examination to contain a letter to Amenophis III of Egypt from Tushratta, king of Mitanni, in northern Mesopotamia. The language of this letter was entirely novel, bearing no relation to any other known language. In 1890, three scholars published attempts at decipherment; Jensen and Brünnow were measurably successful, while Sayce tried to solve too much and failed almost entirely. Work on the interpretation of "Mitannian," as the new tongue was provisionally called, continued in the following years, and important contributions were made by Messerschmidt and Bork.

In the Amarna Tablets there were a number of "Mitannian" personal names belonging to Syrians, which led to the supposition that there was an element of this origin in Syria and perhaps also in Palestine; but no certainty was obtained, since very few "Mitannian" names were found in the letters from Mitanni preserved in the Amarna collection. Personal names belonging to this language, and containing the theophorous element *Teshub*, name of the chief god of Mitanni, now began to appear on tablets from Babylonia itself, as was proved in detail by Ungnad in 1909.

Meanwhile much more material relating to the history of Mitanni was discovered by Winckler at Boghazköi, and a preliminary publication by him in 1907 gave some idea of the new sources for our knowledge of Western Asia. In close relation with Mitanni stood here the name which Winckler read *Kharri*, belonging to a land and a people which he supposed to represent the Aryans (*i.e.*,

the Indo-Iranians). This view seemed to be confirmed by the sensational discovery of a group of Indic deities among the gods of Mitanni who were called to bear witness to the covenant between the Hittites and the Mitannians.¹

In 1915 Hrozny published his first report on his successful initial deciphering of the cuneiform Hittite language (Nasian or Nesian) in which most of the Boghazköi tablets are written. In this report he recognized that there was another language found in short passages on some of the tablets; this language was called *kharli* or *khurli* and seemed to be closely related to "Mitannian." In 1920, Forrer and Hrozny published independent papers in which they carried this discovery of the latter student farther, and established the essential identity between *kharli* and "Mitanni" beyond doubt. Further work by Forrer and Ungnad produced additional confirmations, and increased our knowledge of the language in question. The true reading of the name *Kharri* was then shown to be *Khurri*, and *kharli*, *kharlili*² were corrected to *khurli*, etc. Only a small part of the Khurrian texts and passages in the Boghazköi tablets has yet been published; so it is still impossible to utilize this important material adequately for linguistic purposes.

The next forward step in the recovery of the Khurrians, as the speakers of this tongue must henceforth be called, was Chiera's discovery at Yarghan (or Yaghlán) Tepe near Kirkuk in northeastern Mesopotamia of a Khurrian town called Nuzi. In his first tentative excavations here, in 1925, he found about a thousand cuneiform tablets belonging to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.;

¹ All numbered references, including this one, will be found at the end of the chapter.

subsequent campaigns at this site brought the number up to several thousand. While it is true that a few tablets from this region and period had been published previously by other scholars, it is none the less true that little progress in their interpretation could be made until more material for study became available. Nearly a thousand tablets of the "Kirkuk" type have now been published by Chiera, Speiser, Contenau, Gadd, Pfeiffer and others, and their interpretation is so far advanced that the non-specialist may now use the results with reasonable confidence.³

These tablets are written in bad Accadian (Babylonian), but they are full of Khurrian words and idioms, and nearly all of the innumerable proper names are Khurrian. The legal system, the social organization, and much of the material culture of the inhabitants of Nuzi and Arrapkha (Kirkuk) were not Accadian at all, differing radically from then prevailing conditions in Cossaeon ("Kassite") Babylonia, as well as in Assyria proper. Thanks to the work of Koschaker, Speiser and others, we now know a great deal about their legal system and their social organization, as will be stressed hereafter. Since the people of Arrapkha were subject at that time to Mitannian suzerainty, the tablets probably give us an adequate idea of the Khurrian culture of Mitanni as a whole. In any case, the language, personal names, names of gods, and artistic culture were the same as elsewhere in Mitanni.

In 1927 the excavations of Count du Mesnil du Buisson at Qatna (modern el-Mishrifeh) in central Syria yielded a number of cuneiform tablets from the first half of the second millennium B.C., which have been partly published by Virolleaud.⁴ These documents contain a number of characteristic Khurrian names, such as Akiya, Khutiya, Aki-Teshub, and the inventories of temple treasures found

among them yield a number of Khurrian words. Most interesting is the evidence which the tablets and other objects furnish for the essential homogeneity of Khurrian culture in Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as for the extent of trade relations about the middle of the second millennium B.C.

In 1929 Schaeffer began excavation at Ras esh-Shamrah (ancient Ugarit) on the North-Phoenician coast. In the first and subsequent campaigns numerous cuneiform tablets were found, partly in Accadian cuneiform and partly in a previously unknown cuneiform alphabet. Hardly had the first collection of tablets been published in 1930 when successful decipherment began, and the alphabet soon proved to be used to write a new dialect of Canaanite, closely related to Phoenician. However, some texts in this alphabet remained unintelligible, until Hrozný showed in 1932 that they were written in Khurrian.⁵ The preceding year Thureau-Dangin had published a long trilingual vocabulary from Ugarit, in which Sumerian, Accadian and Khurrian occurred side by side.⁶ Here again there are dialectic peculiarities; so we may already speak of three dialects of Khurrian: Mitannian, Cappadocian, and North-Syrian. In a tablet published by Thureau-Dangin in 1934⁷ there are numerous Khurrian personal names, so that the total number of names of men and gods in this language from Ugarit is now very considerable. The name of the people occurs a number of times in the alphabetic Canaanite texts as *Kh-r-y*—that is, with the same consonants as the name *Khori* (Horite) in the Bible.

Thanks to these and numerous other discoveries of recent years, we are now in a position to sketch the history of the Khurrians in broad lines. Physically, they were certainly members of the Armenoid or Tauric branch

of the Alpine race; their most characteristic features were an extremely short head (from front to back) and an unusually large nose. These characteristics have been typical of the mountaineers of Anatolia, Armenia and northern Syria from the time of the earliest monuments and the oldest skeletal remains of sedentary folk in these regions. Their language, which had split into three or more dialects by the fifteenth century B.C., is semi-incorporating in character, that is, various pronominal and prepositional (deictic) elements are incorporated into the verb complex. Besides this far-reaching peculiarity, are a number of other features on which we can not dwell in this brief sketch. It must be emphasized that there is no relation between Khurrian and Indo-European, Semitic or Sumerian. Since the three now known "Hittite" languages, Nasian or Nesian, Luyyan (Luvian), and the tongue of the newly deciphered Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, are all sister languages of Indo-European, we can not be surprised to find no relation between them and Khurrian (except in numerous loan-words, and perhaps in phonology). The same is true of other still unique languages of ancient Western Asia, such as Khattic ("Proto-Hittite") and Elamite. Some relation probably exists between Khurrian and the language of Urartu (Ararat) in the cuneiform inscriptions of the first millennium; a more remote relation may also exist between it and Georgian and other languages of the Causasus region.

No certain trace has yet been found of the Khurrians in our cuneiform sources until the middle of the third millennium B.C. The population of Nuzi in the time of the Dynasty of Accad (*circ.* 2700-2500 B.C.) was still quite free from Khurrian proper names, as we know from the tablets now being published by Meek.⁸ The oldest

monument bearing a name which may confidently be referred to them is the inscription of Arisen, king of Urkish and Nawar in the central Zagros region, northeast of Babylonia.⁹ Urkish later became a center of Khurrian culture, as we know from a tablet from Boghazköi recently described by Forrer.¹⁰ Arisen flourished before the twenty-fourth century, as we know from the style of script which his scribe employed. It would appear that the Khurrian migration from Armenia into Mesopotamia proper was somehow connected with the irruption of another mountaineer folk, the Guti, from the central Zagros, at the end of the Dynasty of Accad. However this may be, Khurrian personal names make their appearance on Babylonian contracts from the Third Dynasty of Ur (twenty-third century B.C., following Thureau-Dangin's chronology) and become common in Babylonian contracts from the First Dynasty of Babylon (*circ.* 2105-1806).¹¹ Several of the early princes of Assur (Assyria) in the last quarter of the third millennium also bear Khurrian names, as we know from the complete list of Assyrian kings recently discovered by the Oriental Institute at Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad).

When the great mounds of northern Mesopotamia have been more fully excavated we shall know much more about the Khurrian civilization of the age, which seems to have been the golden age of this people. It was then that the Khurrians developed their literature, as may be seen from the following facts. The Khurrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic (called the Song of Galgamish in Khurrian) is not a direct offshoot of the standard Old Babylonian recension, but goes back unmistakably to an older form, presumably the (still undiscovered) form which prevailed in the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The principal

city in the myth of the war between the Babylonian and the Khurrian gods which has recently been described by Forrer (from a Hittite translation of the text, found at Boghazköi)¹² is Urkish, the capital of the Khurrian king Arisen, and never mentioned in documents of the second millennium. Among the heroes of Khurrian saga mentioned by an early Khurrian poem published by Forrer in 1926 are Mannamishdu(sh) and Sharkapsharri(sh), correctly identified by the editor with Manishtusu and Sharkalisharri, kings of the Dynasty of Accad.¹³ Manishtusu is now known to have built a temple of Ishtar, later adopted into the Khurrian pantheon, in Nineveh;¹⁴ Sharkalisharri fought in the north with the Amorites and the Gutî. The fact that these two kings, whose achievements paled into insignificance in Accadian (and Hittite) saga beside those of Sargon and Naram-Sin of the same dynasty, were selected for glorification, and that their names appear in a Khurrianized form, proves that they were not taken over into Khurrian literature from Babylonian, but that they were actual figures in native saga.

That the southern spread of the Khurrians was still restricted mainly to northern and northeastern Mesopotamia in the twentieth century B.C. seems to follow from the fact that hardly any personal names belonging to them appear in the Cappadocian tablets, documents of Assyrian merchant-colonists in southern Asia Minor. Practically all the innumerable names in these tablets are either Assyrian (North Accadian) or Anatolian (Khattic and Nesian).¹⁵ This fact suggests that the Khurrian migration into Cappadocia which seems to underlie the Boghazköi references took place after the twentieth century B.C. The total absence of Khurrian names in the

"Aechtungstexte" also proves that the Khurrian element had not yet attained any importance in Syria and Palestine by 2000 B.C.¹⁶

Just as the southward spread of the Khurrians into Mesopotamia seems to have been connected in some way with the Gutti movement, so their migration into Syria appears to be associated with the Hyksos irruption, which may now be dated with confidence in the eighteenth century B.C., probably the second and third quarters of that century.¹⁷ After the Hyksos age, Khurrian names become ubiquitous in Syria, and become common in Palestine, as is now certain from their occurrence on tablets found at Taanach and Shechem (Balatah),¹⁸ as well as in several of the Amarna letters from Palestine. Hitherto it has not been clear whether any names of Hyksos princes were of Khurrian origin or not, in spite of Gustavs' effort to establish such origin, which failed because he lacked adequate material for comparison.¹⁹ We can now give two cases which seem to be clear; one is the equation of Egyptian *Smqn* (only the consonants are written) with the Khurrian abbreviated name *S(h)amukina*, occurring in a list of names from Ugarit;²⁰ the other is the new Hyksos royal name *Sh(u)rk*, published in 1932 by Borchardt,²¹ which can hardly be separated from Khurrian *Shurki* (*Tilla*), *Shurkiya*. Hyksos *Kh(a)-ya-na* probably has the Khurrian abbreviated ending *na*, which is extremely common at Ugarit, as recently pointed out by Thureau-Dangin.²² It follows that the Khurrian element in the Hyksos movement into Egypt was important, just as has been recently surmised by a number of scholars.²³

Recent researches have shown that the social organization underlying the customary law of the Khurrians of Nuzi and Arrapkha was different in important respects

from that of the Semites, both Accadians and Western Semites. Koschaker has shown that an underlying principle of Khurrian society was fratriarchal, *i.e.*, the oldest brother exercised authority over his younger brothers, and had the first right to wed his sisters.²⁴ This practice was entirely contrary to Semitic practice. Another peculiarity of Khurrian social order was that real property was in theory inalienable; it must remain in the family, which assumed the duty of caring for the funerary rites of the deceased. If there was no survivor, it was customary for the head of the house to adopt an heir. In Arrapkha this practice degenerated into a very demoralizing legal fiction; a wealthy man was "adopted" by a poor person whose land he was about to alienate, *i.e.*, he became the legal heir of the latter, who was reduced to a position of serfdom or practical slavery during the rest of his life. The Hebrew levirate marriage may be of Khurrian origin, since Gordon has recently shown that it was employed by them;²⁵ it is at all events not typically Semitic, and seems to have been unknown among the Arabs and the Babylonians, for example.²⁶

Like their literature, the religion and art of the Khurrians were both very syncretistic. Many Sumero-Accadian deities became Khurrian national divinities. This is true, for example, of such goddesses as Ishtar of Nineveh, Nikkal, Aya, and Ishkhara, and of important gods like Ea, Nergal, Zababa. We have already spoken of the adoption of mythical figures like Gilgamesh. Our knowledge of Khurrian ritual is not yet sufficiently advanced to enable conclusions to be drawn, since our most important sources are found in Nesian (Hittite) translation, so that one is often in doubt as to whether a given document was originally Hittite or Khurrian.

The problem of Khurrian art is more elusive, since it is hard to define just what "art" may be included under this head. At present we can only speak with safety about the national art of Mitanni, *i.e.*, of the state which was founded by an Indo-Iranian nobility in northern Mesopotamia, not later than about 1500 B.C. Since the language and culture of Mitanni were both Khurrian, we are justified in calling the art Khurrian, though Mitannian would be less ambiguous. In any case, the art which is illustrated by seal cylinders and seal impressions from the region between Arrapkha and Ugarit, *i.e.*, from the Zagros to the Mediterranean, may be called Mitannian, and—with a grain of salt—Khurrian. The monumental art illustrated by the older orthostats of Tell Halaf in northern Mesopotamia may also be termed Khurrian.²⁷ This art, like the literature, is based largely on Sumero-Accadian models, but its development has been far from consistent, since the monumental art is barbaric, while the glyptic art shows strong Egyptian influence, accompanied by quite remarkable technique. Frescoes and inlay from Nuzi, with silver and bronze work from Ugarit and elsewhere in Syria, show that the Khurrians played an important mediatory rôle between Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Aegean; the focus of this art—even in its farthest eastern form at Nuzi—seems to have been in Syria.

We have summarily described the state of knowledge now existing with respect to the Khurrians. Are we justified in identifying this people with the Biblical Horites? There is no difference in name. The Hebrew *Hori* (Greek *Khorráios*) can not well be separated from Canaanite *Khry*, which represents an older consonantal form of the name. Nor can it be separated from cuneiform

Khurri(u), the name of the land of the Khurrians, to which it bears the same relation as the Hebrew name of the Amorites, *Emori* (Greek *Amorráios*), does to the older cuneiform *Amurru*. In Egyptian, which is like Hebrew in having no doubled consonants, the name *Khuru* (formerly read erroneously *Kharu*) is used of Syria from not later than about 1500 B.C. on. The Hittite cuneiform of the name is *Khurl-*, which properly means "Khurrian," as pointed out by Hrozný, so that the adverb *khurlili* means etymologically "in the (language) of the Khurrian (land)." The gentilic "Khurrian" appears as *khurwukhe* in Khurrian itself; such inner Khurrian analogies as the constant interchange between the forms *iwri* and *irwi* of the word for "king" suggest that the sound of the second consonant was intermediate between *r* and *w*, partaking of the nature of both. Since the sound here transcribed *w* was apparently more like English *v* (and is sometimes transcribed *f*), the sound in question was presumably dento-labial rather than bilabial. In any case it sounded like *rr* in foreign ears, and the Hebrew form is the only possible way in which the name could appear in Hebrew without doing violence to phonetic law.

Since the Hebrew and Greek Bibles do not agree in their use of the term *Hori-Khorráios*, but the latter has *Khorráios* in two important passages where the former offers *Hiwwi* (Hivites), it will be necessary to examine the references to both. In all forms of the square character, from the fifth century B.C. to the mediaeval Hebrew cursive, there is very little distinction between the letters *resh* and *waw*, so that the names may be considered interchangeable so far as the ordinary copyist was concerned. The strength of the Jewish historical tradition makes it improbable, however, that either *Hiwwi* or *Hori* is factitious, having its origin in such an error. Both ethnic

names existed, but the distribution may be quite different from what it is now in either Hebrew or Greek Bibles.

When the Greek Bible has *Khorráios* in Genesis 34:2 instead of the Hebrew *Hiwwi*, we are justified in adopting the Greek reading with Eduard Meyer,²⁸ since a cuneiform tablet from Shechem (about the fifteenth century B.C.) offers at least one certainly Khurrian name. By analogy, the same may be true of the reference to the Hivites in connection with Gibeon (Joshua 9:7), where the Greek has *Khorráios*, since the Gibeonite tetrapolis in any event represents a foreign enclave in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, which was occupied by a people of apparently Cappadocian descent. Three other passages of the Hebrew Bible locate *Hiwwi* in the Lebanon region. Joshua 11:3 mentions the Hivites below Hermon, in the land of *ham-Mitspah*, otherwise unknown, but perhaps situated in the south of the Baq'ah of Syria. Judges 3:3 mentions the Canaanites and Sidonians, and goes on to say, "And the Hivites living in Mount Lebanon from Mount Baalhermon to the Entrance of Hamath," *i.e.*, the southern Baq'ah. II Samuel 24:7 speaks of all the cities of the Canaanites and the Hivites which David's census-takers visited south of Sidon. Since the region in question was occupied by a large and important Khurrian element in the time of the Amarna tablets, and since the Hittites can hardly come into serious competition here, we are justified in changing "Hivite" again to "Horite."

But where are the Hivites left, if so many passages must be attributed to the Horites? Disregarding the lists of peoples conquered (or not conquered) by the Israelites, since they furnish no precise information, we have only one place left, namely, the account of the early inhabitants of Edom in Genesis 36 (and 14); Deuteronomy 2:12,22. It is true that all scholars (except the writer) have hith-

erto regarded the Horites as at home in Mount Seir, wherever else they may have lived; but this is hardly possible if the Horites are the Khurrians. In the first place, the Khurrians were a sedentary people, coming originally from the mountains, and settling in the fertile lowlands of Mesopotamia and Syria. But the land of Seir or Edom, which has been thoroughly explored and delimited by Glueck's epoch-making researches in the summer of 1934,²⁹ was almost entirely unoccupied by sedentary inhabitants between about 1800 and about 1200 B.C., as was also true of Moab. In the latter part of the Early Bronze Age and in Middle Bronze I there was a fair occupation, and in Iron I and II there was a dense population, but no sherds of Middle Bronze II or of Late Bronze were discovered. The earliest possible date for the reoccupation of Seir is in the thirteenth century B.C. This archaeological situation leaves no room for a Khurrian occupation. For a time it seemed, before Glueck's latest researches, that the numerous copper mines of this region might go back to Early and Middle Bronze, but he has proved that they were not exploited before Iron I, about the twelfth or eleventh centuries B.C. A very superficial working by nomads or half-nomads is, however, not excluded.

In the second place, nearly all the names of "Horite" clans (*allufm*) in Genesis 36 are clearly Semitic; not one shows so un-Semitic a form that a Khurrian etymology is probable. A detailed linguistic exegesis of these names has recently been given by Moritz (1926), who compares them with Arabic names,³⁰ and by Ginsberg and Maisler (1934), who compare them with Khurrian, Anatolian, and other non-Semitic names.³¹ Neither study is linguistically quite satisfactory, though the former has the great advantage that Moritz draws exclusively upon Arabic, while the other two scholars draw comparisons from dif-

ferent languages, often mutually exclusive. Adequate discussion would carry us far beyond our present limit of space, so we must restrict ourselves to a few observations.

It has often been observed that there are many animal names in the list of Horite clans in Genesis 36. That this is not accidental is suggested by the parallel in Old Accadian nomenclature, where animal names are very common, as well as by the parallels from Arabian tribal and personal names which Robertson Smith and others have already collected. It may be added that *Aran*, one of these names, is perhaps Accadian *urnu*, "serpent" (the Syriac *arna*, with which it was previously connected, was doubtful in meaning and occurrence). It may also be observed that *Shobal* (the vocalism is fixed by the Greek as well as by the name Sobalah in modern Edom, as Moritz has observed) is a diminutive of the type *qautal*, like *gozal*, "young dove," etc., and may mean "small ear of corn," since the meaning "young lion," sometimes given it, is apparently excluded by the sibilant. The name *Timna'* (better *Tamna'*, Greek *Thamna*) is certainly not to be connected with *Tamnaush* or *Damnaush* in the region southeast of Assyria, especially since the name is Gutian rather than Khurrian, but is identical with the name *Tamna'*, of the capital of Qataban in south Arabia,³² especially since the formation *taqtal* was once much more common in Semitic names than it later became (cf. the name *Ta'mas*, belonging to a Semite woman mentioned in an Egyptian text of about 1550 B.C.).

If there is no room left for Khurrians in Seir, we may be able to locate the Hivites here. The name *Hiwwi* (Greek *Eudaios*) stands, according to Philippi's law, for older *Hawwi*; cf. the identical change of *Hatti* (cuneiform *khatti*) to *Hitti* (Greek *Khettaios*). Moritz has called attention to the early Arab tribal name *H-w-y*, which shows

that the name is perfectly good Semitic, in any case.³³ The etymology is presumably fixed by the Hebrew *ḥaw-wot*, "camp" (or the like), Arabic *ḥiwa'un*, *aḥwiyatun*, "group of tents." The Hivites would then be the semi-nomadic Semitic tribe that occupied Mount Seir for the last centuries before the Edomite conquest, which took place not later than about 1250 B.C.³⁴

Examination of the lists of women whom Esau is reported to have married is instructive in this connection.³⁵ In Genesis 36:2 he is said to have married the granddaughter of Zibeon the *Hivite*, and the Greek text agrees in this reading. Later in the chapter, Zibeon is called an *alluf* (clan) of the Horites. Esau's other wives are variously said to be daughters of Hittites, and daughters of Ishmael, sisters of Nebaioth. All their names are Semitic, so it is highly probable that "Hittite" should also be corrected to "Hivite." This must remain uncertain, however. If our view is right, the alteration of "Hivite" to "Horite" in Genesis 14 and Deuteronomy 2 is secondary.

Further excavation and archaeological exploration in Palestine and neighboring lands may confidently be expected to settle this problem before long, as they have so many other problems. Meanwhile, the importance of the Horites as an ethnic element in early Palestine is proved, though their elimination from Edom must remain a theory, however plausible may be the arguments advanced in its favor.

NOTES

¹ Since 1907, there has been a considerable increase in our knowledge concerning this Indo-Iranian element in Western Asia about the middle of the second millennium B.C. It is now certain, for example, that it was this people that introduced the horse-drawn chariot for military and racing purposes; see Albright, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VI (1931), 217ff.; Hrozný, *Archiv Orientalni*, III (1931), 431ff. The name by which these Indo-Iranians were called remains unknown,

which is unfortunate, since numerous personal names of Indic character appear in Palestine and southern Syria during the Amarna Age.

² For these forms, their vocalization and meaning, see Hrozný, *Archiv Orientalni*, I, 91ff., 103; Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XIII, 17ff.

³ From the rapidly increasing literature we may cite Chiera and Speiser, *Annual*, VI, 75ff.; Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXIII, 49ff.; Chiera and Speiser, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLVII, 36ff.; Chiera, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XLIX, 115ff.; Speiser, *Annual*, X, 1-74; XIII, 13ff.

⁴ Syria, X, 90ff.; XI, 311ff.

⁵ *Archiv Orientalni*, IV, 118ff.

⁶ Syria, XII, 234ff.

⁷ Syria, XV, 137ff.

⁸ See T. J. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*; also his articles in *Annual*, XIII, 1ff. and *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXXII, 51ff.

⁹ Published by Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, IX, 1ff.

¹⁰ *Journal Asiatique*, CCXVII (1930), 238f.

¹¹ Ungnad, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VI, 5, 1ff.

¹² *Journal Asiatique*, loc. cit.

¹³ Forrer, *Geschichtliche Texte aus Boghazköi*, pp. 25-27.

¹⁴ Thompson, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XIX, 105.

¹⁵ See Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, IX, 104.

¹⁶ Albright, *ibid.*, VIII, 249ff.

¹⁷ See the writer's forthcoming study of the Hyksos period in the light of new material from Egypt and Palestine.

¹⁸ See Gustavs, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, L, 1ff.; Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI, 66.

¹⁹ *Zeitschrift für die Aegyptische Sprache*, LXIV, 54ff.

²⁰ Thureau-Dangin, Syria, XV, 140.

²¹ *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, XXIV (1932), 618ff.

²² Syria, XV, 144f.

²³ See Götze, *Das Hethiter-Reich* (1928), p. 22; Gustavs, *Zeitschrift für die Aegyptische Sprache*, LXIV, 54ff.; Speiser, *Annual*, XIII, 46ff.

²⁴ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XLI, 13ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XLIII.

²⁶ For the bearing of this material on the antiquity of the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, which show several striking parallels to Khurrian practices, see Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1932), pp. 138f., and Speiser, *Annual*, XIII, 43f.

²⁷ See Götze, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XLI, 243ff.

²⁸ *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 331; see also Albright, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, VII, 5.

²⁹ *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 55 (September, 1934).

⁸⁰ *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLIV, 81ff.

⁸¹ *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XIV, 256ff.

⁸² This equation was originally proposed by Hommel, but has been strangely overlooked by Moritz.

⁸³ *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLIV, 93.

⁸⁴ The writer first proposed this theory in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, VII, 5n; cf. also Robinson, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization*, p. xv.

⁸⁵ An interesting interpretation of the divergences in this list is given by Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 458ff.

THE OLDEST IMMORTALITY WRITINGS

BY GEORGE S. DUNCAN

THE Egyptian pyramids were, of course, tombs of the Pharaohs. Seventy of these are known. All are located on the west bank of the Nile, from Abu Roash opposite Cairo to Lahun, a distance of sixty miles. The largest group of pyramids is found at Sakkara, a village sixteen miles south of Cairo and five miles west of the river. The neighborhood of Sakkara is a vast cemetery filled with tombs dating from the third dynasty, 3000 B.C., to the twenty-sixth dynasty, 525 B.C. Among the pyramids excavated here in 1880 and 1881 from the sand that had covered them for many centuries are five of very great importance; for they are the only pyramids bearing inscriptions. One belonged to Unis of the fifth dynasty and the others to Pharaohs of the sixth dynasty: Tety, Pepy I, Mernere, and Pepy II, who was also called Neferkere. The period covered by these five pyramids would be from 2625 B.C. to 2475 B.C.

Each of the five pyramids contains a long passageway leading to the tomb-chamber in which was placed the sarcophagus, and two other chambers which probably were filled with food-offerings for the deceased monarch. The pyramids were broken into long ago and robbed of all their movable contents, including the mummies of the Pharaohs; but, as the accompanying illustration shows, the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls and ceilings of the tomb-chambers are almost as clean-cut and legible as they

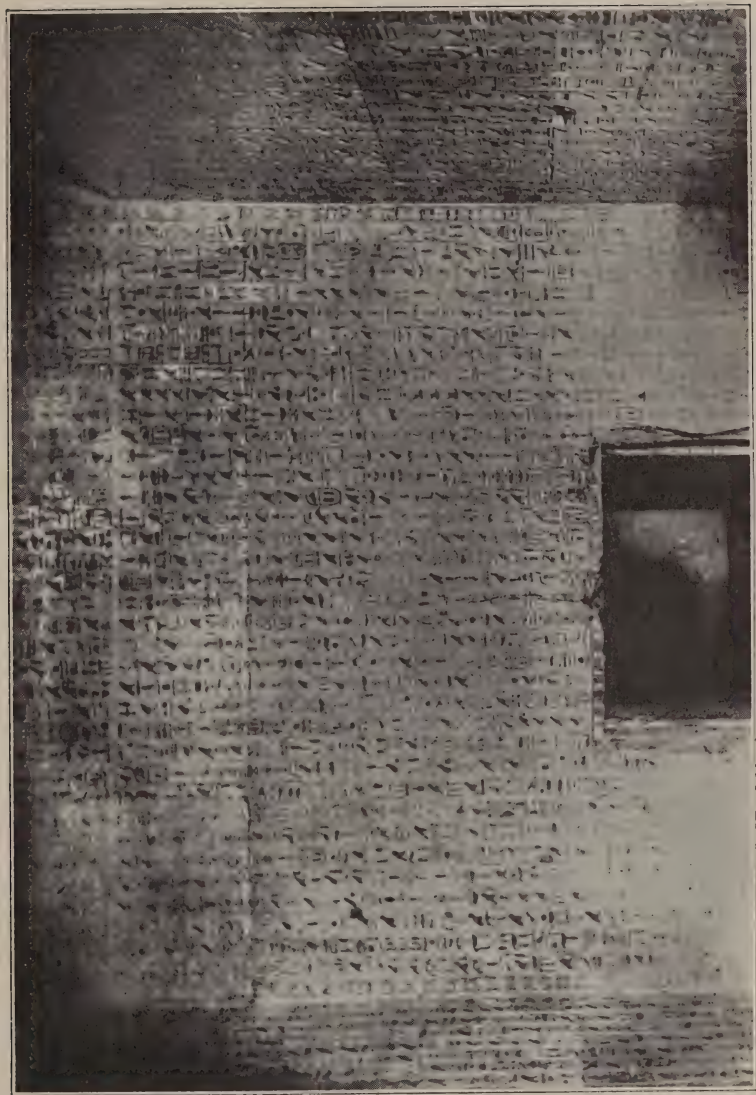
were when they were carved there over four thousand years ago.

These inscriptions are religious texts consisting of prayers, hymns, incantations, magical formulae, lists of offerings and descriptions of the future life, and were intended to ensure the safe progress of the Pharaoh to, and his happiness in, the next world. The text is substantially the same in each of the five pyramids. The subject matter represents the growth of many centuries and, naturally enough, is sometimes very confused. Historical and mythological allusions which occur here and there show that portions go back to a period long before Menes of the first dynasty, 3400 B.C. The "Coffin Texts," 2000 B.C., and the "Book of the Dead," 1500 B.C., were based in part on the pyramid inscriptions.

"These texts," says E. A. Wallis Budge, "represent the oldest religious literature known to us, for they contain beliefs, dogmas and ideas that must be thousands of years older than the period of the sixth dynasty when the bulk of them was drafted for the use of the masons who cut them inside the pyramids. It is probable that certain portions of these were composed by the priests for the benefit of the dead in very primitive times in Egypt, when the art of writing was unknown, and that they were repeated each time a king died. They were first learned by heart by the funerary priests, and handed on from mouth to mouth, generation after generation, and at length after the Egyptians had learned to write, and there was danger of their being forgotten, they were committed to writing."*

Most of the texts can be read with tolerable accuracy; but there are numbers of unknown words and obscure allusions which at present defy interpretation. As Professor

* *The Literature of the Egyptians*, 1914, p. 9.



Interior of the Pyramid of Unis, 2665-2625 B.C.

A. Erman says, "The language of the Pyramid Texts is extremely archaic, and the understanding of it, therefore, presents great difficulties."* Some of the inscriptions contain magical words which were apparently obscure or unintelligible to the priests who repeated them in order to inspire awe, wonder and reverence for what is unknown and mysterious. "The unintelligible," says W. Max Müller, "always wields a strong attraction for the religious mind, and the appeals of the early Christian apologists to reason alone would scarcely have annihilated all faith in Isis and Osiris even outside the Nile valley, where that belief was not supported by the national traditions of many thousand years."†

The present paper deals with the main ideas concerning the future life that are expressed in these old inscriptions. The translations given have all been made directly from the original hieroglyphic texts which have been so ably edited by Professor Kurt Sethe of Berlin.‡ In order that these very ancient religious writings may speak for themselves, we shall group, from various parts of the inscriptions, passages dealing with different aspects of the future life. It will thus be possible to gain a fairly accurate idea of the conception of the next world that was held by the Egyptians at this very early date.

We learn, to begin with, that *the future world is a glorified Egypt, with trees, reeds, flowers, gardens, fields, lakes, rivers, floods, and nomes, or provinces.*

King Unis has come to the pools which are in the region of the floods at the great inundation, to the

* *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1927, p. 2.

† *Egyptian Mythology*, 1918, p. 8.

‡ *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, vol. I, 1908; vol. II, 1910.

place of peace with green fields in the horizon.
(508)*

The bower of King Unis is plaited in the field of reeds. (130)

They give to this King Tety the tree whereof they live. (1216)

This King Pepy is on the way to the field of life.
(1280)

Thou hast gone up into the lake of life. (1979)

The gardens are satisfied; the canals are overflowed for this King Neferkere on this day on which his glorified part is given to him, on which his spiritual part is given to him. (857)

The reeds are inundated; the lotus are overflowed.
(1705)

The fields laugh; the shores overflow. (1554)

The two divine nomes cry out to King Neferkere.
(1562)

King Pepy comes to this place more glorious than any place. (931)

The location of the future world is above, in the eastern part of the sky.

Thou makest the ascent while a great one is behind thee, while a great one is before thee. (547)

While he makes the ascent, and goes to the sky among his brethren the gods. (550)

May you two [Isis and Nephthys] carry King Neferkere; may you place him in the east side of the sky. (2200)

The resurrection of the body is affirmed in many passages.

She [the goddess Nut] unites for thee thy bones; she unites for thee thy members; she places for thee thy breast in thy body. (835)

O King Tety, lift thyself up after thou hast received

* The numbers in parentheses refer to the sections in the hieroglyphic text as edited by Professor Sethe.

thy head; pull together thy bones; shake off thy dust.
(735)

Horus has united for thee thy members; he has joined thee together. (635)

Horus has pressed for thee thy mouth; he has adjusted for thee thy mouth to thy bones. (644)

Thou hast received thy head; thou hast embraced thy members; thou hast collected thy members; thou shakest off the dust from thy flesh. (654)

Mayest thou open for King Mernere his two eyes; mayest thou open for him his nose; mayest thou open for King Mernere his mouth; mayest thou open for him his two ears to hear. (1673)

Arise, dwellers in the tombs; loose your bandages; throw off the sand from your faces; lift up yourselves from your left side; support yourselves upon your right side. (1878)

The journey to the next world is over water, and is usually accomplished by means of two rafts or a ferry boat.

The two rafts of the sky are placed for King Unis; so that he may ferry over therewith to the horizon in the company of Re. (337)

Mayest thou ferry him over in this ferry boat in which thou dost ferry over the gods. (384)

O Re, commend King Tety to Maahaf, the ferryman of the lake of lotus, that he may bring that ferry boat of the lake of lotus to King Tety in which he ferries over the gods to that side of the lake of lotus, to the eastern side of the sky. (599)

The world above is entered by doors which have bolts. There are also gates, and a door-keeper and gate-keeper are mentioned.

The double doors of the firmament are opened.
(525)

The double doors of the sky are opened for thee; the great bolts are pulled out. (572)

O lofty gate, which no one names, gate of Nut.
(603)

O Nun, cause that this gate be opened for King Tety. (603)

O thou door-keeper of the sky, give heed to this divine messenger who is about to ascend. (1250)

Thou ascendest to the gate-keeper; he seizes thy arm; he takes thee into heaven to thy father Geb.
(655)

The qualifications for entering heaven are both ceremonial and ethical.

Hail, King Pepy; thou art pure; thy ka* is pure; thy spiritual part is pure among the glorified; thy spiritual part is pure among the gods. (839)

This King Pepy purifies himself in order that he may receive to himself his oar and that he may take his seat, in order that this King Pepy may sit in the prow of the boat of the Double Nine.† (906)

O ferryman of the field of reeds, this King Pepy is worthy for the sky and for the earth; this King Pepy is worthy for the island of the earth. (1188)

This King Pepy is justified; the ka of this King Pepy is justified. (929)

The evil which clings to this King Pepy is destroyed; there is no evil in him, says Atum. (843)

He has not acted disrespectfully to the king; he has not mocked the goddess Bast; this King Pepy has not made merry in the sanctuary. (892)

O ye great nine gods, sit down in order that ye may see this purification of the King Osiris-Pepy‡ with

* The word "ka" is perhaps best rendered in English as "guardian angel" or "protecting genius." The ka functioned chiefly, but not wholly, in the hereafter.

† In the Egyptian pantheon there were two groups of gods, each group having nine divinities. They are distinguished as the Great Nine (Re, Shu, Tefnet, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Seth, Isis, Nephthys) and the Lesser Nine, which was headed by Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis. Together, the two groups were referred to as the Double Nine.

‡ A flattering identification of the dead and risen monarch with the god Osiris, corresponding somewhat to the deification of the Roman emperors.

natron, with soap, and with [another kind of natron].
(849)

Thou makest this King Pepy to sit down because of his righteousness, and to rise up because of his worth. (1219)

Professor J. H. Breasted says of the above passages, "These are the earliest traces in the history of man of an ethical test at the close of life, making the life hereafter dependent upon the character of the life lived on earth. It was at this time, however, chiefly ceremonial rather than moral purity which secured the waiting soul passage across the waters."*

The dead king is welcomed into heaven with great ceremony and occupies a supreme place among the glorified ones and the gods.

Thou findest Re standing there; he comes to thee; he seizes thy arms; he leads into the double palace of the sky; he places thee upon the throne of Osiris.
(757)

Horus has caused that the gods unite with thee, and that they fraternize with thee. (577)

The gods rejoice over King Tety, as soon as they see King Tety. (715)

Isis speaks to thee; Nephthys greets thee; the glorious ones come to thee bowing down; they kiss the earth at thy feet. (755)

He [Geb] rejoices at thy approach; he gives his arms to thee; he kisses thee; he embraces thee; he puts thee at the head of the glorified ones who do not know how to perish; the great ones serve thee; the watchmen arise to thee. (656)

The Great Nine in On have assigned thee to the great throne; thou sittest, O King Pepy, at the head of the Nine, like Geb, prince of the gods, like Osiris before the spirits, like Horus, lord of men and gods.
(895)

* *A History of Egypt*, 1916, p. 65.

The dead king is deified.

He has confirmed to King Neferkere that he become divine. (2036)

Nut has caused that thou art a god. (25)

They have appointed King Pepy as a member of the Double Nine. (1127)

Thou standest, O King Pepy, avenged, equipped as a god, endued with the form of Osiris upon the throne of the first of the westerners; thou doest what he was accustomed to do among the glorious ones, among the imperishable stars. (759)

The food in the next world consists chiefly of bread, milk, beer, wine, fig cakes, sweetmeats, oil, geese, quail, various kinds of animal flesh and fruits.

Sit down to thy thousands of loaves of bread, thy thousands of jars of beer, thy thousands of oxen, thy thousands of geese, thy thousands of everything on which the god lives. (2027)

The ribs, coming from the slaughter house, are roasted for thee. (214)

That thou mayest eat the shank, and that thou mayest chew the cutlet in thy mouth, and that thou mayest feed upon the ribs. (736)

He is wined; he is wined. (692)

Bring the milk of Isis to King Tety; bring the milk of Nephthys. (707)

Those living upon figs; those who drink wine. (816)

King Tety lives upon sweetmeats, upon the fragrance coming from the ground. (718)

Quail is slaughtered for thee; goose is prepared for thee. (746)

There is no shortage of food in the Egyptian heaven.

That land into which King Unis goes, King Unis does not thirst in it; King Unis does not hunger in it for ever. (382)

They expel this hunger which is in the body of

King Tety, and this thirst which is on the lips of King Tety. (552)

He eats bread with thee without ceasing for ever and ever. (789)

Thou hast abundance in the field of the gods where they eat. (805)

Hail, King Pepy, someone has come; thou wilt not have any want. (827)

The heavenly provision is always fresh.

Get thee up to this thy bread which cannot dry up, and to thy beer which cannot become stale. (859)

Receive for thyself this thy fresh bread, this thy fresh beer. (870)

Bring to this King Pepy his bread which does not become stale, his beer which does not become sour. (1226)

There are two meals a day in the Egyptian paradise.

His meals come from before the temple, the two meals of King Pepy. (1064)

The king enjoys health and happiness in heaven.

How healthy is King Tety, how healthy is King Tety; King Tety is healthy in his person among you. (683)

Life, prosperity, health and happiness. (707)

The heavenly clothing consists of a loin cloth and head-gear adorned with a feather; the king also wears his regalia, and sandals are on his feet.

King Tety purifies himself after he receives his divine loin cloth. (533)

How beautiful is the beholding of King Tety adorned with the head-gear of Re; his loin cloth is upon him as Hathor; his feather is as the feather of a falcon. (546)

Thousands of every kind of clothing. (773)

Those clothed with dark red royal linen. (816)

Thou goest with thy sandals. (1745)

Thou arisest, O King Tety, in thy royal hood; thy hand seizes the sceptre; thy fist grasps the mace. (731)

Thou art adorned with this thy symbol of royalty among the glorified. (743)

The ascended king resides in a palace, sits upon a throne, is surrounded by servants, and receives offerings.

For King Tety goes to that distant palace of the lords of the kas. (598)

He sits upon that throne of precious metal, whose faces are lions, whose feet are the hoofs of a great bull; he takes his place in its empty seat between the two great gods. (1124, 1125)

The servants of the god are behind thee; the nobles of the god are before thee. (754)

King Pepy calls out to a thousand servants; men come to him in obeisance. (1565)

The barley is threshed for thee; the wheat is reaped for thee; they [the offerings] are made therefrom for your feasts at the beginning of the month; they are made therefrom at the middle of the month. (657)

Among the occupations of the king in heaven are those of a farmer, ruler, judge, messenger of the gods, and secretary of the gods.

He raises barley; he raises spelt. (761)

Thou plougest barley; thou reapest wheat; thou makest the fresh bread from it. (874)

Thou commandest the glorified. (573)

King Neferkere is the messenger of Horus; he loves him. (535)

King Unis is a secretary of the gods; King Unis is the scribe of the gods; behind the temple of Re King Unis opens Re's chest of papers; King Unis breaks open Re's edicts; King Unis seals Re's decrees; King

𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐

Unis dispatches Re's messengers who do not become tired; King Unis does that which Re says to him. (490)

All of the passages that have been quoted reveal a firm belief in a future life, although expressed in materialistic terms. The following lines, which constitute the high-water mark of immortality teachings in these pyramid inscriptions, have never been surpassed in any age, ancient or modern, in their confident expression of belief in a life beyond the grave.

King Tety has not died; he has become a glorious one in the sky; he abides in continuity. (350)

The life-time of King Unis is eternity; his boundary is eternity. (412)

They summon this King Pepy to life and to satisfaction for ever. (657)

Hail, King Pepy! Thou hast departed that thou mightest live. (833)

That thou mightest become soul, being a soul; that thou mightest become spiritual, being spiritual. (833)

The immortal part goes to the sky; the mortal part goes to the earth. (663)

Though thou sleepest, thou wakest again; though thou diest, thou livest again. (1975)

These confident and joyous expressions of belief in immortality, many of which so closely parallel familiar passages in our own Bible, originated far back of what until a few years ago was considered the dawn of history, and were inscribed on the imperishable walls of the pyramids of Egypt more than two millenniums before the author of Ecclesiastes wrote, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return to God who gave it," and twenty-five centuries before the greatest of all religious teachers said, "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live."

THE PESSIMISM OF ECCLESIASTES AND THOMAS HARDY

BY ROBERT WORTH FRANK

IN *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy*, Mrs. Florence Emily Hardy records a fact which first suggested this study. At the age of twenty-two, Thomas Hardy settled in London "to pursue the art and science of architecture." Finding himself bored by the monotonous work of architectural drawing and being averse to the pushfulness necessary for advancement in his profession, young Hardy sought an outlet for his artistic bent in the writing of poetry. Some time between 1862 and 1867, so Mrs. Hardy informs us, he "began turning the Book of Ecclesiastes into Spenserian stanzas, but finding the original unmatchable, abandoned the task."¹ The fact that Thomas Hardy was thus attracted to the book of *Ecclesiastes* in his early years would seem to indicate that he felt some community of mood and outlook between his own mind and that of Koheleth.* Our purpose is to trace the principal likenesses and differences in the recorded views of these reputed pessimists.

Two objections to the feasibility of such a study may be raised at the outset and deserve brief consideration. The first objection is based upon the questionable integrity of *Ecclesiastes*. The most diverse opinions concerning this problem have been held by scholars. To weigh and com-

¹ All numbered references, including this one, will be found at the end of the chapter.

* For readers who are not Hebrew students, it should be explained that *Koheleth* is the "preacher" who is the assumed author of *Ecclesiastes*.

pose their theories is not germane to our task. From a survey of the critical literature, however, it seems reasonable to hold that the book, while probably containing some interpolations and annotations, is, in the main, the literary expression of one man's personal observations and reflections upon life. Two recent interpretations of *Ecclesiastes* proceed upon this assumption.²

A second objection may be made that we do not necessarily have the personal convictions of either Koheleth or Hardy in their literary products. In both cases the moods, attitudes and ideas may be presented for artistic purposes and not as a mirror of personally cherished philosophies of life. There are, however, good grounds for believing that these two men revealed their deepest convictions in their literary creations. The pronounced unorthodoxy of the views set forth in *Ecclesiastes* is an argument in favor of it as a genuine self-revelation. Such unorthodoxy, especially when it is so anomalous as that of *Ecclesiastes*, is seldom a pose. Again, while the book begins with a recreation of the historical Solomon whose traditional wisdom and experience are evoked to enlighten the reader, "the author," says D. B. Macdonald, "very quickly drops Solomon and speaks as himself, for himself and of himself." His book "falls in the great and ever appealing literature of self-revelation" and lifts its author to a place "beside Marcus Aurelius, Sir Thomas Browne, Pascal, and many others."³

In the case of Thomas Hardy there may seem to be grave doubt as to whether the author's *credo* ever appears explicitly in his literary works. Conclusive evidence on this point is set forth, however, in Mrs. Hardy's biography of her husband which was published in 1930. She informs us that in 1919, at her husband's request, she replied to a letter as follows: "To your inquiry if *Jude the*

Obscure is autobiographical, I have to answer that there is not a scrap of personal detail in it, it having the least to do with his own life of all his books. The rumor, if it still persists, was started some years ago. Speaking generally, there is more autobiography in a hundred lines of Mr. Hardy's poetry than in all the novels."⁴ If we confine our attention to Hardy's poetry, especially to the dominant strain of thought expressed therein, we may be reasonably confident that we are penetrating beneath the imaginative creations of the artist to the soul of the man.

Having weighed these objections, we turn to some rather striking general correspondences between the ancient Hebrew and the recent British author. Both *Ecclesiastes* and the poetry of Hardy were written by elderly men; they are not the effusions of disillusioned or melancholy youth. Koheleth had "seen all the works that are done under the sun." He was "an old man with old memories to inform and strengthen him."⁵ Hardy's first book of verse, *Wessex Poems*, appeared in 1898 when he was fifty-eight years old. From then, until his death in 1928, a volume of verse issued from his pen every two or three years. His *magnum opus*, *The Dynasts*, was completed in 1908 when he was sixty-eight years of age. His last book of verse, *Winter Words*, appeared just a few months after his death in his eighty-eighth year. The literary compositions of Koheleth and Hardy were expressive of "the years that bring the philosophic mind," and not of the broodings and dejections of adolescent and post-adolescent moods.

Neither of these men was a systematic philosopher. *Ecclesiastes* consists of the reflections of the author in the form of succinct, memorable sayings. In the Introductory Note to his last volume of verse Hardy asserted "that no

harmonious philosophy is attempted in these pages—or in any bygone pages of mine, for that matter.”⁶ Of the two men, however, Koheleth was perhaps less unsystematic and more philosophical in his method than Hardy. George L. Robinson says that the book of *Ecclesiastes* “is no collection of separate and unrelated thoughts. The author catalogs his various moods of pessimism, hedonism, sophism, and faith; his method being that of an inductive philosopher who explores every possible field of knowledge before he draws his conclusion.”⁷ Robert H. Pfeiffer asserts that “the author does not jump to conclusions; he submits received opinions to the acid test of experience and reflection.”⁸

Both Koheleth and Hardy were literary artists of genius, gifted with rare powers of acute observation and possessed of a beauteous albeit forceful style of writing. And both were realists rather than romanticists. They strove to be starkly factual, to observe nature, life, and human history bereft of all the mellowing, concealing, and distorting influences of illusion. But there is a difference. Koheleth was a practical realist who attempted a trial balance of profit and loss in life. Wisdom, for the Hebrews in general and for Koheleth in particular, was insight into what is prudent under the sun. Hardy’s primary interest as a poet was the “artistic interpretation of life.”⁹ Such an interpretation, he believed, should be rooted in “the exploration of reality”¹⁰ and should not follow the method of the “good Panglossians.”¹¹ A strong secondary interest, however, was his concern to report the “true sequence of things” without bias and to draw their pitiless implications for ultimate reality. The metaphysical as well as the artistic interest plies vigorously in the realism of Hardy. Yet he is not wholly devoid of that practical moral inter-

est so characteristic of Koheleth, for he justifies the "dark gravity of his ideas" on the ground that,

If way to the Better there be, it exacts
a full look at the Worst.¹²

Both were energetically-minded realists who preferred to arrive at their own conclusions after a first-hand inspection of facts and events, rather than to acquiesce in the orthodox wisdom based upon ancestral observations and conveyed to them through an official tradition.

Another interesting parallel between these men is found in the contrast between their mind and outlook and that of their respective national literatures. Both are atypical in this regard. The general strain of Hebrew literature is highly optimistic. "The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord." "Let the heavens rejoice and let the earth be glad." The pessimistic strain in *Job* and *Ecclesiastes* is an exception. This strain in *Ecclesiastes* was so dissonant as to provoke sharp dispute concerning its fitness for inclusion in the canon. When we turn to English literature we find that although it is occasionally somber it cannot be characterized as pessimistic. Jonathan Swift was perhaps a true pessimist, but an English critic aptly points out that "nothing shows the thorough-going cheerfulness of English character more than the fact that it has regarded the dean as a comic writer for children."¹³ The same writer asserts that Thomas Hardy is "our one real pessimist."

We must come to closer grips with the pessimism of these two men. The term pessimism is a superlative and in the strictly philosophical sense denotes the theory that this is the worst of all possible worlds. It signifies a comprehensive estimate of things which is concentrated in the doctrine that existence is essentially evil. In this radical

form it has been consistently maintained by few men. Nevertheless, there come black moods in the lives of many when it seems to be the ultimate truth about man's lot. Even the healthy-minded Homer could write that "there is nothing more wretched than man of all things that breathe and are." Sophocles gave classic utterance to the logic of pessimism when he wrote that "not to be born is the most to be desired; but having seen the light, the next best is to go whence one came as soon as may be."

Koheleth approaches this nadir of depression as he reviews the various quests for the *summum bonum* in life—the quest of wisdom, of pleasure, of labor and riches, and of fame—and concludes each quest with the familiar refrain, "all is vanity and a striving after wind." The last phrase "forcibly suggests the purposelessness and ineffectiveness of all man's enterprises."¹⁴ The sight of the oppressed evokes a conclusion similar to that of Sophocles, "Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive; yea, better than them both did I esteem him which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun" (4:2f.). These are the most pessimistic sentences in the book, but their mood is not consistently maintained. There is the recurring practical counsel to make the best of life and to enjoy what we can. "For to him that is joined with all the living there is hope; for a living dog is better than a dead lion" (9:4).

Nor does Thomas Hardy adopt and maintain a radically pessimistic attitude. His "Epitaph on a Pessimist," taken from the French, is humorous rather than grim:

I'm Smith of Stoke, aged sixty odd,
I've lived without a dame
From youth-time on; and would to God
My dad had done the same.¹⁵

Some strains in Hardy's poetry resemble Koheleth's practical counsel to enjoy life as we pass. A notable expression of this attitude is recorded, strangely enough, in *Time's Laughingstocks*, which appeared in 1909.

Let me enjoy the earth no less
Because the all-enacting Might
That fashioned forth its loveliness
Had other aims than my delight.¹⁶

The pessimism of these men is neither radical nor consistently held. It never quite reaches an utterly negative valuation of life. It is not an attitude of unqualified hopelessness. It consists of the view that pain, evil and futility predominate in human affairs. The attitude of reflective melancholy prevails in their writings, but neither of them is without his handful of hope. A consistent and radical pessimist should "his quietus make," but Koheleth and Hardy managed "to keep base life afoot" far into ripe old age. They voice a modified pessimism based upon a poignant appreciation of the unfathomed, dark and tragic aspects of life.

The sources of this qualified pessimism deserve attention. One source is disillusionment about human immortality. Death writes a cipher after the life of man and beast alike, according to Koheleth (3:20f.). The opposite ways of wisdom and folly, of righteousness and wickedness, lead to the same end, death (2:14f.) and oblivion (2:16). This fact, that death is "the Gate that shuts on all flesh soon or late,"¹⁷ seems to lie at the root of much of Hardy's dark outlook, if we may judge by his frequent references to it. In "The Sign Seekers" he tells of his longing

To glimpse a phantom parent, friend,
Wearing his smile, and "Not the end!"
Outbreathing softly; that were blest enlightenment.

Such signs have not been vouchsafed to Hardy although others claim to have enjoyed them. To all his longing there comes no response. Instead, "Nescience mutely muses: when a man falls he lies."¹⁸ For these first-rate minds, the lack of faith in immortality is the source of a melancholy which cannot lightly be cast aside.

Another source of their pessimism is the incessant and apparently meaningless repetition in the processes of nature and life. "That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there a thing whereof men say, See, this is new? it hath been already, in the ages which were before us" (1:9f.). In a similar vein, Hardy speaks of "the diurnal spin of vanities," and describes himself as one who "had learnt that the world was a welter of futile doing."¹⁹ The monotonous cycle of change has no meaning even for God, according to "New Year's Eve," written in 1906.

"I have finished another year," said God,
 "In grey, green, white, and brown;
 I have strewn the leaf upon the sod,
 Sealed up the worm within the clod,
 And let the last sun down."

"And what's the good of it?" I said

.....

Then he, "My labors—logicless—
 You may explain; not I:
 Sense-sealed I have wrought, without a guess
 That I evolved a Consciousness
 To ask for reasons why."

.

He sank to raptness as of yore,
 And opening New Year's Day
 Wove it by rote as theretofore
 And went on working evermore
 In his unweeting way.²⁰

A third source of pessimism for these two men is the role of chance or "hap" in life. On the one hand, there are the monotonous repetitions in all change; on the other hand, there is so much of sheer chance, of the tragically fortuitous in human life. Koheleth saw "in the place of judgment that wickedness was there" (3:1); he had beheld riches that "perish by evil adventure" (5:13), "the poor man's wisdom despised" (9:16), "folly . . . set in great dignity" (10:6), and "servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants" (10:7). "I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all" (9:11). Many of Hardy's poems are preachments upon this same theme, for which he supplies the text:

What bond-servants of Chance
 We are all.²¹

An early poem (1866) is entitled "Hap." It closes with the oft-quoted lines:

—Crass Casualty obstructs the sun and rain,
 And dicing Time for gladness casts a moan . . .
 These purblind Doomsters had as readily strown
 Blisses upon my pilgrimage as pain.²²

A closely allied root of the pessimism of these men is to be found in their apprehension of the inscrutable and pitiless flux of time. Pfeiffer traces the scepticism of *Ecclesiastes* to "his conception of time as the essence of all

things . . . Reality is a flux of ephemeral events; the human mind possesses the notion of the flow of time, but has no knowledge of the order of events in the future; therefore the procedure of God in his incessant work of creation is a mystery to man."²³ This conception of time as unintelligible change is also a factor in Hardy's pessimism. So far as man can discover, transitoriness characterizes all things. There are literally scores of references in Hardy to "that sportsman Time" who "but rears his brood to kill."²⁴ We read of "the little chisel of never-napping Time," of "dull-defacing Time," of "cynic Time," of "time" that "cures hearts of tenderness," of "time's hurling and unfurling," of "Time's fierce frost," of "the melancholy marching of the years," and "Of Time that builds, of Time that shatters."²⁵ Time, like "Doom" in the poem, "Doom and She,"²⁶ is a monster, "vacant of feeling," which sees but is unmoved by all that comes to pass.

Man's mortality, the weariness begotten of the inscrutable, cyclic repetitions of all processes, life's fateful contingencies, and "Time's transforming chisel" are all tributary to the *Weltschmerz* of Koheleth and Hardy. But we have not arrived at the head-waters of their pessimism, of their view that life is a business which, on the whole, does not pay. We believe that William James penetrated to the source of all pessimism which is more than a temperamental conditioning or a transient mood when he wrote: "Pessimism is essentially a religious disease . . . It consists of nothing but a religious demand to which there comes no normal religious reply."²⁷ It is fair to add that James meant by religion, not the nature religions, but ethical religion, namely, the faith that the invisible disposer of all destinies is not less but more wise and loving than the best of men. The inability to cherish

such faith seems to us to be the root-source of the pessimism of these two men.

There is, however, a signal difference in the underlying ground of their pessimism. Koheleth's pessimism is based upon his scepticism about God's nature and will, whereas Hardy's pessimism is based upon his knowledge of the truth about God and the disillusionment which it has brought. Koheleth is generally acknowledged to be a kind of theist; the name of God occurs frequently in his book. But God's nature and will are essentially indeterminable. "For God is in heaven, and thou upon earth" (5:2). "As thou knowest not what is the way of the wind, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child; even so thou knowest not the work of God who doeth all" (11:6). Koheleth did not doubt that behind the world and its processes is a God who made the world and controls it. But his will and ways are past finding out. Koheleth is unable to transcend this scepticism. He knows that God is but not what he is. His lifelong observations preclude faith in God as one whose will is good.

Thomas Hardy's pessimism is based upon what he thought was the indubitable knowledge of natural science. The premises of his pessimism are the uncritically accepted conclusions of the naturalistic determinism which flourished in the nineteenth century. The ultimate reality is conceived by him as energy rather than matter; he adheres to a monistic metaphysical dynamism, rather than to materialism. This view, so he thought and declared, was necessitated by modern science. All events are determined by a designless nature. Human plannings and decisions are irrelevancies; they are as much under the compulsion of this blind mother-energy as tides and earthquakes. In the light of science we discover no operation of a beneficent

Providence in history; instead, we find "the ubiquitous urging of the Immanent Will," which

. . . works unconsciously as heretofore,
Eternal artistries in Circumstance.²⁸

Hardy was convinced that the new knowledge compelled the abandonment of all "theolatriy" and of any anthropomorphic conception of the fundamental energy. Yet he himself did not avoid anthropomorphic expressions in denominating this energy, but made free use of psychical terms. "The Will," and "The Immanent Will," seem to have been his favorite designations. It was not will as experienced by us, however, for

. . . like a knitter drowsed,
Whose fingers play in skilled unmindfulness,
The Will has woven with an absent heed
Since life first was; and ever will so weave.²⁹

From the standpoint of "This viewless, voiceless Turner of the Wheel,"³⁰ Christianity becomes "a local thing,"

Beyond whose span, uninfluenced, unconcerned,
The systems of the suns go sweeping on
With all their many-mortaled planet train
In mathematic roll unceasingly.³¹

Against this background of measureless, fatalistic processes, of the working of the "unrelaxing Will," all human desires, aspirations, and religions are at best "life's little ironies."

It is interesting to discover that Hardy once thought of entering the Christian ministry. He always loved the great religious hymns and beautiful ecclesiastical architecture, and near the end of his life expressed a lingering admiration for the Established Church of England. The loss of his religious faith did not occur without a spiritual

struggle and much sadness. The poem, "God's Funeral"³² tells the story in part. The poet watches the "slowly-stepping train" of mourners who, "growing in bulk and numbers as they went," were on their way to bury the "man-projected Figure . . . whom we can no longer keep alive." The poet recalls his early faith:

How sweet it was in years far hied
To start the wheels of day with trustful prayer,
To lie down liegely at the eventide
And feel a blest assurance he was there.

He has only compassion for the mourners and for those incredulous ones who refused to believe that God was dead:

. . . with all I sympathized;
And though struck speechless, I did not forget
That what was mourned for, I, too, long had prized.

What seems most significant to us is that neither Koheleth nor Hardy finds rest for his spirit in his pessimism. The writings of each breathe regret; *Ecclesiastes* because God's ways are so baffling and inscrutable, Hardy's poetry because our new knowledge disenchant us of our ancient faith. And both men stop short of the logic of radical pessimism because of some hope gleaned from experience. Mortal life contains certain compensating values for Koheleth. According to Pfeiffer, Koheleth "recommends the serene enjoyment of whatever joys life may offer (2:24f.; 3:12f., 22; 5:18f.; 8:15; 9:7-9; 11:9f.), and the zest of vigorous work (9:10), before old age, with its weaknesses and ailments, remove finally the capacity for enjoyment (12:1-6) and death bring the body back to the dust and the spirit back to God (12:7)."³³ He has a kind of mystical trust in life that is lived pru-

dently, wisely, and with circumspect reverence. In such a life there are elements of joy and even of hope.

For Hardy, likewise, life has its joys and hopes, some of them being reminiscent of *Ecclesiastes*. Hardy was twice married, and happily so in both cases. In a beautiful short poem he requests that, when "he has doffed this wrinkled gear," those who come to his graveside will "pause and say" of him,

Whatever his message—glad or grim—
Two bright-souled women clave to him;
Stand and say that while day decays;
It will be word enough of praise.³⁴

Another poem, entitled "Great Things,"³⁵ celebrates the joys of "sweet cyder," the dance, and love, and concludes with the stanza,

Will these be always great things,
Great things to me? . . .
Let it befall that One will call,
"Soul, I have need of thee":
What then? Joy-jaunts, impassioned flings,
Love and its ecstasy,
Will always have been great things,
Great things to me!

Thomas Hardy had his hopes as well as his joys. One was a practical, the other a metaphysical hope. He has expressed his tentative faith in "evolutionary meliorism." Some amendment may be made in the lot of beast and man. He hopes that ere "the exhaustion or destruction of the globe . . . pain to all upon it, tongued or dumb, shall be kept down to a minimum by loving-kindness, operating through scientific knowledge."³⁶ This is his practical hope. To the end of his days he protested vigorously against our cruelty to dumb animals and most

vigorously against war and the scientific cunning by which we make "red war redder still."

One of his last poems, entitled "Christmas, 1924,"³⁷ is a memorable blast.

"Peace upon earth!" was said. We sing it,
And pay a million priests to bring it.
After two thousand years of mass
We've got as far as poison gas.

In lieu of the orthodox religious faith Hardy had a metaphysical hope. The "Immanent Will" is not conceived by him as deliberately malignant but as merely blind and therefore indifferent. The bitterest whim of this "Will" has been its production of sentient creatures and human consciousness. It has committed "the intolerable antilogy of making figments feel."³⁸ George Santayana once wrote that consciousness is a lyric cry in the midst of business. For Hardy it is an elegiac cry in the midst of bad business. But not hopelessly bad! For this very whim of the impercipient will seems to permit the hope that the "Sleep-Worker" itself may one day become conscious. Such, at any rate, is the suggestion contained in the poem, "Fragment."

By some still close-cowled mystery
We have reached feeling faster than he,
But he will overtake us anon,
If the world goes on.³⁹

In the "After Scene" of *The Dynasts* occurs a conversation in "The Overworld." The "Spirit of the Years" comments on the Napoleonic era:

Thus doth the Great Foresightless mechanize
In blank entrancement now as evermore
Its ceaseless artistries in Circumstance

Of curious stuff and braid, as just forth shown.

Yet but one flimsy riband of its web

Have we here watched in weaving . . .

To this the "Spirit of the Pities" replies,

Thou arguest still the Inadvertent Mind.—

But, even so, shall blankness be for aye?

Men gained cognition with the flux of time,

And wherefore not the Force informing them . . . ?

And this epic drama, intended for "mental performance alone," closes with what may be described, not inaccurately we trust, as the triumphant song of the Chorus:

But—a stirring thrills the air

Like to sounds of joyance there

That the rages

Of the ages

Shall be cancelled, and deliverance offered from the
darts that were,

Consciousness the Will informing, till it fashion all
things fair!

Have we unlocked the hearts of these two men? It would be pretension to assume it and arrogance to assert it. No one knows with certitude save Koheleth and Hardy. Who can read the riddle of another's personality? "By heaven!" cries Othello to Iago, "By heaven, I'll know thy thoughts!" Comes the pregnant answer,

You cannot, if my heart were in your hand;

Nor shall not, whilst 'tis in my custody.

But in so far as these men have committed their inmost convictions to prose and verse, we have sought to fathom them. The core of such pessimism as they express seems to be found in their religious disillusionment. Koheleth thinks that man is shut off from religious truth, from all metaphysical news. Hardy thinks that all metaphysical news is bad news. Neither one can believe that what is

metaphysically most real is also morally the best. This last is the nuclear faith of religion. When those who hold this faith lose "the tragic sense of life," the pessimist appears to admonish them of "the tears of things." Most men are incurable religious optimists. Did not Dante find it necessary to inscribe over the entrance to Inferno the legend, "All hope abandon, ye who enter here"? The pessimist would place the same inscription over the door to life. But he usually relents and, in the end, like Koheleth and Hardy, qualifies the legend with some hopeful footnotes.

NOTES

¹ P. 62.

² D. B. Macdonald, *The Hebrew Literary Genius*, 1933, and R. H. Pfeiffer, "The Peculiar Skepticism of Ecclesiastes," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, July, 1934.

³ Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 199.

⁴ *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy*, p. 196.

⁵ Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁶ *Winter Words*, p. vi.

⁷ *The Abingdon Bible Commentary*, art., "Ecclesiastes."

⁸ Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁹ *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy*, p. 183.

¹⁰ *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*, p. 526.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 526, 154.

¹³ A. Wyatt Tilly, *The Edinburgh Review*, vol. 228, p. 296.

¹⁴ G. Currie Martin, *The New Century Bible, Ecclesiastes*, p. 226.

¹⁵ *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*, p. 771.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 155.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 260f.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²³ Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁴ *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*, p. 12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 212, 268, 301, 512, 641, 689, 788.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

²⁷ *The Will to Believe*, p. 39.

²⁸ *The Dynasts*, I, 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³² *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*, pp. 307f.

³³ Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³⁴ *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*, p. 390.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

³⁷ *Winter Words*, p. 156.

³⁸ *The Dynasts*, I, 127.

³⁹ *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*, p. 483.

THE MARCAN REDACTOR

BY EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

AMONG critical students of the New Testament the view has rather widely prevailed that the Gospel of Mark, whatever it may owe to Petrine memoirs or Marcan reminiscences, nevertheless in the form in which we know it has been worked over by an editor or redactor.

Bacon (*Beginnings of Gospel Story*, p. xxxiii) frankly ascribes the Gospel to "R," an "ardently Pauline evangelist writing in Rome about 75 A.D.," who "builds upon the basis of an ancient Petrine tradition, though not without drastic recasting and supplementation from Q and other sources."

"The abbreviated and cursory character of the prologue," says Moffatt, ". . . has been held to point . . . to the editing of an Ur-Marcus," a theory which he goes on to say "is borne out by the subsequent traces of editorial revision throughout the gospel. . . . In passages like 4:1-34, 9:33f. and 13, the impression of editorial work upon a source, not simply on oral tradition, deepens. . . . Without carrying the analysis further, we may therefore outline the process by which Mark's Gospel reached its present form thus: notes of Peter's reminiscences written down by Mark (hence the Aramaic colouring and vivid detail of certain sections) were afterwards edited by a (Roman?) Christian who used not only the small apocalypse but some other logia of Jesus. . . . The secondary features of the gospel are adequately accounted for by the process of editing, which has left the gospel some-

thing very different from the naïve transcription of an eye-witness's reminiscences, even when the latter had passed into the form of preaching material *πρὸς τὰς χρείας*" (*Introduction*, pp. 22of., 232f.).

Scott, in his recent *Literature* (p. 58), says of the "collection of notes which Mark drew up from his memories of Peter's conversation," that "after it left Mark's hands it underwent a process of editing and expansion."

It is interesting to find Juelicher taking a different position. "The hypotheses of an original Mark arise, however, only from the wish for a simpler solution of the Synoptic problem. They can never have been based on the study of Mark alone, for such a study nowhere produces the impression that any large portion has dropped out, or that any has been put in by a strange hand" (*Introduction*, p. 326).

The decision between these two positions rests with the Gospel itself. It should tell us in no uncertain tone whether it is the writing down of the Petrine memoirs or the work of a redacting hand.

From Papias' account of Mark's work, understanding it to have been written after Peter's death from Mark's memory of oft-repeated passages in his preaching, with an eye chiefly to the preservation of his reminiscences of Jesus, what should we expect that document to be? What would be its traits, its literary quality? If it was indeed primitive, and written in this indirect fashion, seeking not so much to express the *writer* as some previous but no longer accessible authority, we should expect it to be rough, obscure, difficult, perplexing because perplexed. On the other hand, if it has been gone over by an editor,

or redactor, just in that proportion should it be smooth, clear, coherent, intelligible, correct.

Which of these is the picture of the Gospel of Mark? It should not be difficult for us to discover by a close and frank examination of its text which of two descriptions so distinct as these are, more nearly fits the Gospel.

Of course, we must first divest ourselves of our familiarity with Matthew, the earliest interpreter and clarifier of Mark, who beyond any one else had led us to overlook and forget just those literary features of Mark to which we must now return, and we must try to see Mark in all its primitive obscurity, before its readers had Matthew to help them understand it. Let us view it as its earliest readers had to do, and see what it really is in itself, uncolored by subsequent interpretation. Let us begin at the beginning, the more especially as here the advocates of the Marcan redactor find his handiwork most manifest.

The first thing that meets us is a title, "The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ." Nothing could be more natural; and yet on a little reflection, how difficult this is. For is it a mere *incipit*, "Here beginneth the good news," or is it the title of the Gospel, or is it a part of the first sentence?—so King James (not to go farther back), Ferrar Fenton, and others.

The desperate straits to which this harmless phrase drives the interpreter appear when we look at Weizsaecker or Menzies. The former feels its *incipit* character, and prints it a line above his first paragraph, and in heavier type—but with a colon after it, thus clinging when it is too late to the feeling that it is part of the first sentence after all. He cannot make up his mind which of the several possibilities to accept. Menzies is in the same state of indecision. He makes it a separate

paragraph, thus recognizing its titular character—but punctuates it with a comma, thus attaching it to the following paragraph. Both of these strangely ambiguous proceedings on the part of remarkably sound scholars show one thing with great clearness; the first line of Mark constitutes a difficulty that is well-nigh insoluble. Fortunately it is not our task here to solve it, but only to point it out. And to remark that the redactor, whose task it is to improve, amend, enrich and correct, has begun badly.

Bacon simply says, "This title seems to have been prefixed by R to the work as a whole." He does not discuss the confusion thus created by R in the minds of subsequent interpreters, leaving that distasteful task to us. We observe that the redactor's first stroke in his self-portrait is a sinister one.

Let us here parenthetically remark that we are not unaware of what a real redactor or editor, like Matthew for example, would do when confronted with such an ambiguous title as that which we have been discussing. He would replace it at once with something quite suitable and unambiguous, such as "The ancestry of Jesus Christ," or, like Luke, he would put in place of it a formal preface giving his reasons for writing his book.

With the problem of the title is closely involved the clause following it. This, including the quotation from the prophets, seems to hang in suspension between the title and the first principal clause, in vs. 4. There are at least five ways to treat this clause; for it has been treated in that many different ways in published translations. For example, it may be attached to the title through vs. 2, as in the King James version, vs. 3 being treated as a separate sentence; it may swing suspended between title and vss. 2, 3 (Weymouth), or it may be attached to the following

sentence, vs. 4—as with most modern translators. This is a very serious flaw in the work of the redactor, to whom the responsibility for the prologue peculiarly belongs, we are told. One could understand such a loose sentence in a primitive document, such as the Petrine memoirs, but we are persuaded better things of a redactor. This is just where he should have exerted himself, and where redactors like Matthew and Luke *have* exerted themselves, smoothing all this confusion away.

But we are not yet through with the first sentence. The oracle from the prophet Isaiah is only part of it from him; the first and more characteristic part is from Malachi, indeed it is the line that gives that prophecy its name—for “Malachi,” of course, means “my messenger” and probably nothing more. This is a pardonable mistake in such a book as Mark’s Memoirs of Peter; it is just such a mistake as we should expect in a book composed in the strange way we have described. But from the pen of the redactor it becomes ten-fold more difficult. We know how redactors treat such blends of quotation; we have seen Matthew and Luke patiently analyzing this one into its parts and using them both, with care and propriety. Indeed, this is precisely the sort of thing that the redactor must mend. And again he has failed. We begin to ask what manner of redactor, then, is this, who can mistake the very signature, the sign-manual, of Malachi for Isaiah?

The abrupt introduction of John with his obscure message of repentance and baptism *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* (to obtain the forgiveness of sins) is a further point which the redactor should have expanded and clarified. The efforts of the Matthaean and Lucan editors in that direction are well known. The account of John’s food and

dress is also mysterious. Why such concern for John? Even Jesus' dress and diet receive no such emphasis. Luke felt this so keenly that he simply omitted the sentence. Matthew retained it, probably perceiving its undertone; for it is a reminiscence of the description of Elijah in II Kings 1:8: "He was a hairy man and girt with a leathern girdle about his loins." The uncooked food of the prophet is another touch from the portrait of Elijah, who was fed by ravens, and the whole draws a parallel between John and the Great Fore-runner of Malachi 3:1, that often recurs in Mark.

Obscure as Mark so often is, nowhere are the obscurities more dense and frequent than in this opening paragraph, which by those who believe in the Marcan redactor is so easily assigned to his hand. But whether we suppose him to have been the author of these lines, or merely to have reviewed them as a later editor, it must be clear that he did none of the things that a redactor or editor is supposed to do in the way of clarification and correction. If he wrote the paragraph, he wrote it with just the flair for the abrupt and obscure which so strongly marks vss. 14, 15, which he certainly did not write, but at the most is supposed to have edited. Whether as writer or as redactor, then, the first paragraph leaves the redactor of Mark in a very improbable position, as New Testament redactors go, and we leave it with the feeling that it is much more like the work of such an evangelist as Papias leads us to picture, than of any reworker of the Gospel that might be called a redactor.

As we pass to the second paragraph of the prologue (vss. 9-13), Jesus' acceptance of repentance baptism causes the redactor no concern, such as the editor of Matthew so keenly felt. And his violent description of

the heavens "torn open" (σχιζομένους) is one which the editors of Matthew and Luke instinctively altered to the milder "opened." But this is not all. The Spirit came down to enter into him (εἰς αὐτόν) according to Mark (or his redactor)—a representation of spirit possession characteristic of the whole Gospel of Mark, but so repugnant to the editors of Matthew and Luke that they have altered it to "upon him" (ἐπ' αὐτόν). Indeed, so harsh and objectionable has Mark's preposition seemed that the manuscripts early altered it to "upon" (ἐπὶ). It is difficult enough at best, even in such a document as Papias leads us to expect the original Mark to be; but in the work of a redactor—smoothing, simplifying, clarifying—it is nothing short of impossible. The redactor should *resolve* difficulties and obscurities; but if he creates them—what then? Yet we are told that the Marcan redactor actually wrote the so-called prologue.

The doctrine of the Marcan redactor, in short, requires that there should have been not merely one early Christian writer capable of the obscurities, harshnesses and difficulties of Mark, but two so endowed, both capable of writing them *de novo*, and one with the additional gift of endorsing and approving them when he met them from another's hand. This can hardly be described as a probable solution of the critical problem of Mark.

The difficulties of the Marcan baptismal oracle are familiar. That it is in the second person has driven Matthew to change it to the third person: "This is my Son." The crowning difficulty, however, lies in the last clause, "On you have I set my choice" (ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα)—with an aorist that is well nigh insoluble. Yet all this tissue of difficulties is easily assigned to the Marcan redactor, by those who believe in him. But what an impossible redactor

he is turning out to be! The old ideal of the redactor—the smoother, completer, clarifier—has no place here. The Marcan redactor is of a wholly different type, which creates fresh difficulties in great masses and lays them at the door of the Gospel, as though to challenge the reader with the barrier and say to him in effect, “If you can surmount obstacles like these, you may enter.”

The flinging of Jesus into the desert by the Spirit is another of the masterpieces of the redactor. Real redactors might well hesitate to alter too much oracles from heaven like that at the baptism; but had no hesitation about this too violent figure. Matthew and Luke find the word suitable enough for casting out demons or unprofitable servants, but they were too seasoned editors to keep it here; they softened it to some word which expressed leading (ἡγετο, ἀνέχθη). The Marcan redactor, on the other hand, is supposed not simply to have left it standing in his source, but actually to have composed it himself—another heavy weight in the scale against his probability.

The vague forty days in the desert, so suggestive of Moses and Elijah in the mind of its probable source, is unilluminated by the Marcan redactor, who either did not understand it himself, or thought it clear enough as it was. But the question arises, What was in his mind when he wrote, “Satan tried to tempt him there; and he was among the wild animals, but the angels waited on him”?

The relationship of this climax of obscurity to Psalm 91:11-14 cannot be doubted; the parallel in the *Testament of Naphtali* 8 has a dubious textual basis and is not quite as promising as Bacon's quotation of it would suggest. But the fact is, both Naphtali and Mark are employing reminiscences of the ninety-first Psalm, which supplies all

of the four elements in the picture: God's beloved; in the wilderness; among the wild animals; waited on by angels.

And yet so obscure is this that anthropology has been ransacked for the most unbelievably quaint details of primitive initiation rituals, to explain what is simply a somewhat negligent reminiscence of a familiar psalm. So negligent, in fact, and so obscure that as competent an interpreter as Allen of Oxford fails to note it in his commentary. The work of the supposed author-redactor in composing the so-called prologue reaches a fitting climax here.

Of course it does not resolve these difficulties and obscurities to transfer them from the shoulders of the redactor to those of the author; but it does undoubtedly make them very much more natural and comprehensible, especially if the Gospel of Mark came into existence in some such way as Papias intimates; for obscurity, harshness, inconclusiveness and difficulty are just what we should expect in a book of such an origin. And it is in precisely these traits that the prologue conspicuously abounds. Indeed, I can recall no page to match it in these respects in the whole New Testament.

It must not be forgotten that these traits are not laid aside with the prologue, but to some extent persist in the body of the Gospel. Thus the reference to John's arrest is so cryptic and abrupt ("after John was arrested") that one wonders why, and when and by whom. Still more bewildering is the use made of the clause, "After it Jesus went into Galilee proclaiming the good news." Why *then*? One can read between the lines, as centuries have taught us to do; but at first the words must have seemed hopelessly obscure. We are not asked to believe that the

redactor wrote them; only that he saw no fault in them and let them stand.

Equally cryptic is the summary of Jesus' message: "The time has come and the reign of God is near; repent and believe this good news." Here, too, skilful reading between the lines is necessary. But what a real redactor would have done with this can be seen by a glance at Matthew or Luke. The doctrine that the redactor wrote the prologue and stopped there is not favored by an examination of the text itself. He does not seem to stop; he seems to be going right on.

In the light of this rapid survey of the first page of the Gospel of Mark, the Marcan redactor becomes a most improbable figure; he is, at the very least, all that a redactor should not be, and all that the redactors we know were not. If his work is just what a redactor's work should not be, it is just as truly what the work of such an arm's length evangelist as Papias describes should be. In short, the differentiation between Mark and his redactor is fallacious. There was no redactor.

It is cheering to observe that recent work on Mark is turning away from the theory of the redactor. McNeile (*Introduction*, p. 51) says: "Mark recorded some things parenthetically, as they occurred to him. . . . No other literary explanation is needed, as, *e.g.*, that the editor is rapidly outlining familiar events to the point where his source, Ur-Marcus, begins." And Streeter (*The Four Gospels*) would have us "renounce once and for all the chase of the phantom Ur-Marcus," of whom, we may add, the Marcan redactor is but the penumbra.

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF PAUL

BY THOMAS WESLEY GRAHAM

IT IS comparatively easy to write the outward biography of a great man. To write his inner biography is quite another task. That task, as Carlyle pointed out, requires one "to see the world with his eyes, feel as he felt, and judge as he judged, neither believing nor denying till he can in some measure so feel and judge." "In some measure" is a saving clause. Even when one has saturated himself through the years with the records of his subject, he can hope only to approximate the experience of his subject. For in every life there is an area into which no other one can enter. That peculiar combination of mind, heart and will which makes one an individual denies access to any other spirit. The finer the organization, the greater the genius of a man, the broader is this area, the less susceptible of understanding the whole man. The longer one studies Paul, the surer certain facts of his inner experience declare themselves, and the more certain it appears that the depths and the heights of him will make him a tantalizing mystery.

However, since the greatest single argument for Christianity is found in a Christian life, there is ample justification for any study of one who "bears the marks of the Lord Jesus." It is my conviction that no one since Jesus has so completely incorporated in his living the principles and spirit of Jesus as did Paul of Tarsus. Even a feeble appreciation of the religious experience of Paul should help, therefore, to a surer understanding of Jesus.

We meet Paul in the mid-course of his life. His casual part in the stoning of Stephen, his startling experience on the road to Damascus, are not sudden breaks in his history. Much that went before is needed to make them intelligible, and much that comes after makes them significant.

The religious experience of Paul is revealed against the background of five cities. When we come to understand what Tarsus, Jerusalem, Damascus, Antioch and Rome meant to him, we shall be well into the secret of his spiritual development and power, especially if with sympathetic imagination we come to see the distinctive qualities of the spirit of Paul which brought the clamoring noises of these cities into a rarely satisfying melody.

In Tarsus, "no mean city," Paul was born to pious Jewish parents. In Tarsus he grew to young manhood subject to the influences of a Pharisee's home. He seems to have found it easy to be religious as he was trained in the distinctive tenets of the sect to which ultimately he gave allegiance. As he grew older, the idea of the one God, Jehovah, holy and righteous, revealing himself in the Law with its emphatic demand for righteousness, possessed Paul. He had an early ambition to master the Law and square his life with its demands. It was an ambition that sorely tried his sensitive spirit; for it involved him in that inner conflict so long continued which he describes pathetically in his letter to the Romans. "O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me out of this body of death?" is not the cry of an old man, but the echo of an agony of youth discovering that back of sins was sin, making of none effect the righteousness of the Law.

Though "touching the law blameless," he seems early to have sensed the need of more in life than moral im-

peccability. The fear that he might not always be strong led him, on the one hand, to find the Law an increasing bondage, and, on the other, to an eager, nervous search for a source of moral power on which he could absolutely rely. That power he did not find in the Ghetto. Nor did he find it in Gentile Tarsus.

Bacon describes Tarsus as "saturated with the atmosphere of the best Greek learning of the age," the learning of the Stoics. The university of Tarsus was a center of Stoic learning. Although Paul may never have attended classes in the university, he could not live in Tarsus and escape its influence and teaching. Nor could he have desired to escape. Strong-minded and self-confident, he yet had the grace to listen and learn in every quarter. He listened to the Stoics. He found them as zealous for the law as he was. As devoutly as he, they prayed the one God to be their ally in the struggle against that inherent evil which they taught him to identify with the flesh. They, too, knew not alone the torture of conscience (he takes that word from them) which follows the wilful act of evil, but also the keen sense of unworthiness of those "groping after God if haply they might feel after him and find him."

The Stoics did not show Paul the source of the power he sought, but they did afford him comfort. He was not alone in his quest. Though the Ghetto might speak of distinctions and discriminations, these could be only on the surface. Sharing a sense of sin, a need for redemption, a search for salvation, the Gentiles were of one blood with the Jews. The whole race of mankind was one in need, and what all men needed, God must offer. Paul would find that offering. His search led him to Jerusalem.

I believe Paul came to Jerusalem well after he had

reached the age when a Hebrew of the Hebrews was expected to accept as a responsible man the requirements of the Law. True, he writes of being "brought up" in Jerusalem, but that phrase can just as well apply to the discipline in the rabbinical classes of Gamaliel as to the influences which lead one through childhood to youth.

If he came in his middle or later teens, there was much in Jerusalem to disappoint him. It was a narrowly Jewish city, steadily stimulated by fanatical pilgrims to an emphasis on the virtues of the sons of Abraham and a display of the vices of the Gentile world. Traditionally, it was the peculiar home of Jehovah; actually its rulers tolerated licensed thievery in the courts of Jehovah's temple. The Messianic hope upon which the Pharisees laid such stress made it the ideal city about which a wide kingdom of righteousness and love should be built. In fact, it was the home of competing schools of scribes jealous of power, anxious about hair-splitting differences of interpretation and forgetting "the weightier matters of the law."

To Paul in Tarsus, Jerusalem was a fortress of the soul within which he might find the triumph of virtue in the face of the world. To Paul the student of Gamaliel, Jerusalem was a place of zealous competition for position in the mastery of the Law and in the ruling courts of his people, and an intensified struggle for a "clean heart" through an observance of law which gave him no happiness or peace. If, as Deissmann suggests, Paul's youthful experience with the Law wrought such "havoc in his sensitive young soul" as to make him feel "he had tasted death," how bitter must have been his subsequent discovery that the expert teaching of the tolerant Gamaliel, the impressive spectacle of the temple services and the rigid disciplines of a law-regulated life could not deliver him "from this body of death."

As the months went by, Paul found himself more and more dissatisfied. His knowledge of the Law increased, with no consequent increase in capacity to achieve the stature of life which somehow he knew he ought to gain. What he wrote years afterward, he might have written then: "I do not act as I want to act. For in me no good dwells: the wish is there, but not the *power* of doing what is right. I can not be good as I want to be, and I do wrong against my wishes. So this is my experience of the Law: I want to do what is right, but wrong is all I can manage . . . I serve the law of God with my mind, but with my flesh I serve the law of sin."*

Paul was in this unfortunate frame of mind when he first became concerned with the "people of the way." It is not likely that he ever saw Jesus in the flesh. If he had, there would have been a definite record of it. It is possible that Paul was home in Tarsus during the brief months of Jesus' public ministry. It is more probable that he happened to be away from Jerusalem during the festival seasons in which Jesus visited the city.

Until after the crucifixion there was little in the reports about Jesus which circulated in Jerusalem to lead a proud young Pharisee who was making steady advance in the esteem of his elders to go much out of his way to investigate the prophetic standing of a Nazareth carpenter. After the crucifixion everyone in Jerusalem interested in religion had to take notice of the claims of the Nazarene's followers. To a Pharisee they were outlandish claims, reminiscent of the mystery cults. How could one who had died on a cross be the Messiah of God? The cross was the symbol of God's curse. What proof was there that he who had been laid away in a sealed tomb had returned to living contact with his friends? Why should

* Moffatt's translation.

one turn to an "unlearned and unlettered" carpenter for the final interpretation of the purpose of God and accept his way as the way to power?

The claims of Jesus' followers were folly; but they went on making them with evident personal conviction and courageous enthusiasm. Pilgrims joined them. Even priests from the temple accepted "the way." Every new adherent was a judgment on the leaders who had not recognized in Jesus the promised Messiah, and a threat against their continued power. Persecution was inevitable, and when it came the Nazarene's followers met it with calmness and courage, making their very trials a display of their power for living which their belief in Jesus brought them. Of all this Paul took account.

When minor persecutions failed to discourage the new sect, the high officials turned to drastic measures. Charges of blasphemy, punishable with death, were lodged. Against Stephen one of these charges was made to stick, and he was stoned to death. Paul was a witness to the execution and found it one of the major turning points of his career. He knew how men could suffer. But he had never seen a man die as triumphantly as Stephen. And he died thus for those beliefs about Jesus which Paul had lightly put aside. In the final test, Stephen had shown that power which Paul would give his right hand to possess. Could Stephen be right? Was Jesus the end of the quest? Paul's self-confidence was shaken but not shattered. He sought a restoration of confidence by joining the persecutors. He "made havoc of the church," but the very intensity of his persecuting worked to his further discomfiture. In constant fear of his own weakness, Paul consigned to prison untrained men and women who shamed him by their absence of fear. Their songs

ring in his ears. "He hath put down the mighty from their thrones and exalted them of low degree."

The fires of persecution in Jerusalem burned low for lack of tinder. But in Damascus there were heretics to harry. Paul would go there and root them out. With the high priest's permission he started north. During a long week of journeying there was nothing for him to do but sit on his beast of burden and think. There was much in the way of Jesus that appealed to him. His teaching had been practical. He had enjoined and practised the great commandments of the Law. He had given an example of love and sympathy, justice and a life of brotherly understanding. He had lived without offence and seemed to transmit power to his followers to live without fear of failure. Then he had died, and if reports were correct, died with a prayer on his lips for his executioners. So it was with Stephen. Stephen had died with a smile, as though he were seeing the face of him for whose sake he was tasting death. If Jesus had been raised from the dead, Stephen might have seen him. Were these "people of the way" right?

Five days traveling with these thoughts. Then on the sixth day something happened. We can never be sure what. The three accounts in the Acts differ in essential details beyond reconciling and can not be taken as sober history. To the Galatians Paul writes, "When it was the good pleasure of God to reveal his Son in me;" to the Corinthians, "And last of all, as to the child untimely born, he appeared to me also." This much Paul makes clear; that which happened on the Damascus Road made him sure that Jesus of Nazareth lived, that he had a work for Paul to do which would lead him into new paths, that to this work he could surrender himself with no thought

of consequences, and that in such surrender he would find the power for life which he had sought.

The full implications of these convictions were not at once apparent to Paul. Though much in his previous experience prepared him for that fateful hour, it came to him as a profound shock. He knew at once that a great change was before him; how great, he could not possibly foresee. The realization that in spite of his crucifixion Jesus was alive, overpowered him and he stumbled into Damascus as one blinded by a glorious light. His conversation with Ananias a few days later served only to emphasize his uncertainty as to himself and his future. A period of uninterrupted thought was necessary if he was to find anything like a well ordered view of the way he had come and the way he was to take. Such a view was a necessity to Paul. "One step enough for me" is not a line that he could have written. He had been too thoroughly trained in the Law as a divinely given pattern for *all* of life, to rest content in an experience that left his ultimate goal unmarked. The achievement of that clearer pattern proved a longer task than he had expected. The weeks he had planned to spend in Arabia lengthened into months, and more than thirteen of them passed before he was in Damascus again.

These months had placed him more and more under the spell of Jesus. What had come to him on the Damascus Road as a profound surprise, came to him in Arabia and remained with him ever after as a sublime ecstasy. What seemed a stern rebuke in the question, "Why persecutest thou me?" he now realized was the utterance of a love so sublime and so compelling that the rest of his life must be spent in explaining it. The living Jesus became "the most effective and operative force" in his life. Hence-

forth Paul's religious experience centers in him and all his energy is directed to winning him.

It was, however, the risen Christ and not the historic Jesus whom Paul set out to win. From the moment of the "great light" Paul was certain that God had shown him his Son and offered him a partnership with a Messiah whose suffering and death had been a pledge of the love of God. That "fellowship" was a mystical experience with "the living and present spiritual Christ who is about him on all sides, dwells in him, speaks to him, speaks in and through him." To Paul in Arabia, Christ is not a person of the past with whom he can have intercourse only by meditating on the record of his words, but a present reality through whom and by whom he may have life-giving power. Paul surrenders himself so completely to that reality as to feel that he no longer lives, but Christ lives in him. The words "in Christ" become his most characteristic phrase and carry the whole secret of his religious experience.

Arabia did another thing for Paul. It made clear what a radical transformation had been worked in him on the Damascus Road. He was not the same man, but a "new creature." He had been bound by the Law; now he was free. He had been in bondage to sin; he feared it no longer. He had been tortured by his own imperfections and the uncertainties of life; now he is persuaded that "neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus, our Lord." Into his weak humanity has come the power of the living Christ. He who had so earnestly sought power knows himself "more than conqueror."

This radical change had come through an act of astounding grace. It was God who had opened up the way for him. It was through God's initiative that he had "apprehended Christ or rather been apprehended by him." Paul's native sense of unworthiness made him all the more surprised at the privilege extended to him. "The Son of God loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*." "And last of all to *me* as one untimely born." God's grace gave him his start in the Christian way. God's grace sustained him in it. "By the grace of God I am what I am."

The privilege that was his by grace brought Paul a sense of obligation to his fellow-men. He was in debt to all his kind because of God's generosity to him. There was only one way to discharge that debt and that was by sharing to the uttermost the love which on the Damascus Road had compelled him. Such sharing, Paul saw, involved him in a mission of unremitting toil, in an insistent preaching, at any cost, of the gospel of Jesus, in a demonstration of "the most excellent way" to "Jew and Greek, barbarian and Scythian, bond and free." Paul returned from Arabia ready for that task.

I recognize that I have been using expressions to describe Paul's religious experience in Damascus and Arabia that appear in letters written much later in his life, and so may be reading into that period what does not belong there. However, I think that I am not doing this. I acknowledge the evidence of great growth in the thought of Paul as he was "transformed into the same image from glory to glory." Nevertheless, it is clear to me that when Paul was driven from Damascus he went out a "new creature," sure of the fellowship of the risen Christ, the fulfilment of the highest hopes of Judaism, with a measurable appreciation of the grace of God and a sense of

human brotherhood sufficient to make the Gentile world an appealing, if not yet a demanding, task.

There are two other elements in the religious experience of Paul that should briefly concern us; one of these is contributed by Antioch, the other by Rome.

The years which intervened between Damascus and Antioch, Paul spent in Tarsus. We have no definite information as to how those years were spent. We can be sure that they were busy years, in which Paul made a living at his trade, took advantage of the rich opportunities which cosmopolitan Tarsus offered for formal and informal education, increased his assurance of Jesus as the Way, and shared generously with others his sense of power in Christ. He does not seem as yet to have visioned his faith as being more than the fulfilment of Judaism. It was Antioch that made him see that the Christian way was the flower of all religion.

I am not sure what it was in Antioch that brought this enlargement of his thought. It might have been the predominance of Gentile members in the Christian church; members who had been led to an acceptance of the risen Christ by finding him the embodiment of the best hopes of their former faiths, even as the Jewish members found him the fulfilment of the Law. It might have been that the responsibilities of assigned leadership in the Antioch church brought to focus influences which the temples, synagogues and the university of Tarsus had put upon him. After all, the exact cause does not matter. The fact stands clear that in Antioch Paul sees his Christian faith as the completion of every other faith. Therefore, as a universal faith it is inevitably missionary. The task which at Damascus was *appealing* is now *demanding*—so demanding that he can know no rest save as he spends

his strength as a witness "unto the uttermost parts of the earth," "building on no other man's foundation." Well beyond middle age, he finds at last a mission in whose divine character he can have lasting confidence, a mission for which he has been prepared from his mother's womb.

Rome supplied the capstone to the religious structure of Paul's life. The imperial city had always attracted him. Born a Roman citizen, he was proud of his rights and his empire. He had found himself in hearty accord with most imperial policies; Rome's practical insistence on law, its policy of acknowledging diversity of peoples and interests while requiring unity, its more than lip service to the cause of peace, its encouragement of intercourse of people across the wide reaches of the empire—all met with Paul's approval. In many ways the policy of Rome's rulers, if not their personal conduct, paralleled the purposes of Jesus as Paul interpreted them. Rome suggested universality with power. So did Jesus. "I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the POWER of God unto salvation to EVERYONE that believeth." To Paul, these became the final words in religion, and the faith he had in Jesus Christ spelled them out.

THE ULTIMATE BASIS FOR THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE ACCORDING TO CALVIN

BY ARTHUR A. HAYS

It is unfortunate that Luther was never forced to probe to the bottom the question of the right use and interpretation of the Scriptures. But the great German Reformer was not a speculative theologian who continually deduced all the logical conclusions involved in the positions his opponents compelled him to take. It was almost by chance that he discovered that a believer in justification by faith must oppose the traffic in indulgences, and to his own amazement he found that his Ninety-five Theses involved the question of the authority of the Supreme Pontiff. When the pope decided against him, Luther appealed to a council. At the Leipsic Debate, however, Dr. Eck obliged him to renounce the authority of all church councils, and it was then that Luther at last took his stand upon the Bible alone. By this step he put himself beyond the jurisdiction of the Roman authorities, who condemned him at once; so he was not forced to investigate thoroughly the problem of the right use of the Book. Thus it came about that Luther's attitude to Scripture varied widely. At one time he could write opposite a certain verse, "*Das ist nicht wahr,*" at another time he could say, "One letter, yes, a single tittle of Scripture is of more and greater consequence than heaven and earth."

Upon the question of the ultimate basis for the authority of the Bible one finds a strain in Luther that speaks as

follows: "The Romanists say, How can we know this or that to be true and God's Word? We must learn it from the pope and the councils. Very well, let them decree and say what they will, still say I, Thou canst not rest thy confidence thereon, nor satisfy thy conscience. Thou must thyself decide. Thy life is at stake. Therefore must God say unto thee in thy heart, This is God's Word, else it is still undecided." Though in this utterance Luther did reach a bed-rock position, he never, so far as I have been able to discover, made clear its rich implications or brought it to any place of special prominence. It was reserved for Calvin, the first great systematizer of early Protestant thought, to treat this subject, which is so fundamental to the entire Reformation movement, in the first book of his *Institutes*, chapters vii to ix.

Calvin presents the problem as follows: "They [the Romanists] inquire, Who can assure us that God is the author of them [the Scriptures]? Who can with certainty affirm that they have been preserved safe and uncorrupted to the present age? Who can persuade us that this book ought to be received with reverence, and that expunged from the sacred number, unless all these things are regulated by the decisions of the Church? It depends therefore, say they, on the determination of the Church to decide both what reverence is due to the Scripture and what books are to be comprised in its canon" (*Institutes*, I, vii, I).*

Calvin saw that he must face the issue squarely; for if he yielded at this point Rome would almost inevitably be able to maintain her further claim that she alone was empowered by God to declare the true meaning of Scripture.

* All quotations from the *Institutes* are from the translation of John Allen, published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, Philadelphia, sixth American edition, undated.

He was also aware that men who had formerly staked their souls' eternal welfare on the word of an infallible church would be satisfied only when the foundation for their new faith was shown to have the same impregnability that the old was thought to possess; otherwise they would be unstable and wavering, the subjects of perpetual doubt. But there was also a third reason which, in his judgment, required that men be as "satisfied of its [the Scripture's] divine origin, as if they heard the very words pronounced by God himself," namely, because he held that it was impossible for the Scriptures to produce saving faith unless men were convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that they proceeded from God. Where can Calvin find such absolutely certain arguments? What will be his fundamental basis for the authority of the Bible?

We have already seen that he utterly rejected the authority of the Church in validating the Scriptures; he even said, "To make their validity dependent on human approbation is a blasphemy unworthy of being mentioned" (IV, ix, 14). But are there not rational arguments by which it may be proved that the Scriptures are of divine origin? What will Calvin's attitude be to proof of this sort?

In the first edition of the *Institutes* there was no discussion at all of the ultimate basis of the authority of Scripture; in the edition of 1539 this question was taken up and no rational arguments were given, though Calvin did present a fully developed treatment of the mystical doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit, which he deemed amply sufficient. In the definitive edition of 1589, however, we find a chapter, number viii of the first book, under which the following external proofs are given, namely, the dignity of the subjects, the diction of the prophets, the antiquity of the writings, the attending miracles, the

miraculous preservation through the ages, the many generations of the Church that have voluntarily obeyed the Scriptures, and the witness of the martyrs who died for its truth. But it should be noted that these arguments are inserted after, not before, chapter vii, which treats of the Witness of the Spirit; and this order is chosen intentionally, for Calvin calls "the internal persuasion of the Holy Spirit" the "first and principal proof," while these human testimonies he designates as "secondary aids to our imbecility" (viii. 13).*

What value does Calvin assign to these external proofs which he calls "secondary aids"? He adopts the plan of the earlier schoolmen, who, though they accepted without question the dogmas of the infallible Church, yet felt called upon to give rational answers to every conceivable objection to them, so that their minds might be at rest. In the same way Calvin uses the external arguments to confirm in the minds of the pious that which they believed on the testimony of the Spirit to be the very Word of God. By these arguments he also is sure that he can "without difficulty silence the obstreperous clamour" of those who "are ambitious to display their wits and their skill in weakening the authority of Scripture" (viii. 4). Such arguments, then, could produce reasonable certainty, but not the absolute confidence needed to effect saving faith. "It is acting a preposterous part to endeavour to produce sound faith in the Scripture by disputations. . . . The Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit" (vii. 4).

The following quotations attest the power of this internal witness. To the question as to how the prophets

* Where the small capital Roman numeral is not given, the reference is to Book 1 of the *Institutes*.

knew that their message was from God, Calvin replies: "It is beyond a doubt that their minds were impressed with a firm assurance of the doctrine, so that they were persuaded and convinced that the information they had received came from God. For God always secured to his word an undoubted credit, superior to all human opinion" (vi. 2). "For as God alone is a sufficient witness of himself in his own word, so also the word will never gain credit in the hearts of men, till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary, therefore, that the same Spirit, who spake by the mouths of the prophets, should penetrate into our hearts to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely intrusted to them" (vii. 4). If one should ask how we can be sure that this witness is from God, Calvin would reply, "This is just as if any one should inquire, how shall we learn to distinguish light from darkness, white from black, sweet from bitter? For the Scripture exhibits as clear evidence of its truth, as white and black things do of their colour, or sweet and bitter things of their taste" (vii. 2).

"Let it be considered, then, as an undeniable truth, that they who have been inwardly taught by the Spirit, feel an entire acquiescence in the Scripture, and that it is self-authenticated, carrying with it its own evidence, and ought not to be made the subject of demonstration and arguments from reason, but it obtains the credit which it deserves with us from the testimony of the Spirit. . . . We esteem the certainty, that we have received it from God's own mouth by the ministry of men, to be superior to that of any human judgment, and equal to that of an intuitive perception of God himself in it" (vii. 5).

What, then, is the ultimate basis for the authority of

Scripture? Luther answers, "God must say unto thee in thy heart, This is God's Word, else it is still undecided." And Calvin says that the ultimate basis is the Testimony of the Spirit. "Scripture is self-authenticating; our certainty is equal to an intuitive perception of God himself."

Since there are those who assert that Calvin really teaches that the Testimony of the Spirit operates through the external proofs and not directly through the experience itself, we call attention to his illustration of the sweet and bitter given above. The knowledge that a cake that one tastes is sweet is not based on external proofs, such as that he knows a large quantity of sugar was put into it, or that his friend promised him a sweet cake, or that others declare that it is sweet. No, its sweetness is only *confirmed* by such external testimony; in itself the sweetness is based immediately on the sense of taste. And Calvin affirms that there is in man a similar *sensus divinitatis* which, illumined by the Divine Spirit, recognizes the voice of the Supreme Shepherd. In the experience of the Witness of the Spirit, the soul knows intuitively that God has spoken. "It is finally such a sentiment as cannot be produced but by a revelation from heaven. I speak of nothing but what every believer experiences in his own heart except that my language falls far short of a just explication of the subject" (vii.5). It is exactly on this experience that Calvin bases his belief in the deity of the Holy Spirit; for he says explicitly, "The best confirmation of the deity of the Spirit, as I have remarked, we shall derive from familiar experience" (xiii.14).

What, then, is in outline the history of this basic Protestant doctrine? We have seen that it occurs here and there in Luther's writings, though no dispute ever brought it to the front and consequently it is not found

in the Augsburg Confession of 1530. But after Calvin had formulated it in the 1539 edition of his *Institutes*, it never lost interest for him, and in the subsequent editions verbal changes and additions looking toward greater clarity were made, as is clearly evidenced in his final revision of 1559.

With this auspicious beginning it is not surprising to find that the doctrine became the common property of the various branches of the Reformed Faith and is found in many of their creeds. The Belgic Confession of 1561 states it well: "Believing without any doubt all things contained in them [the Scriptures], not so much because the church receives and approves them as such but more especially because the Holy Ghost witnesseth in our hearts that they are from God, whereof they carry the evidence in themselves." The Scotch Confession of 1560, which was drawn up by John Knox and his friends, says, "We do affirm and avow the authenticitie of the same to be of God and neither to depend on men nor angels." In the article on the Holy Scripture in the Second Helvetic Confession of 1556, which was the work of Henry Bullinger, the pupil and successor of Zwingli, this doctrine is included. A hundred years later, in 1647, it found its way into the Westminster Confession of Faith in these words (after giving the external arguments): "Notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts."

After the middle of the seventeenth century, however, other phases of Christian thought occupied more and more the attention of the Church to the exclusion of this doctrine, and during the last century it has receded so far

that many who claim to be stalwart Calvinists have forsaken Calvin's own position entirely.

Thus far we have endeavored to discover what was historically the ultimate Protestant basis for the authority of Scripture, and have found it to be a mystical experience called the Witness of the Spirit, in which one is absolutely certain that God has spoken peace to the soul. As a consequence Calvin, and the Reformed creeds generally, taught that, since God himself guaranteed his Word directly, it was sacrilegious to substitute for his attestation the decree of any pope or council of men. Yet nowhere in the early Reformation literature have I found an exact analysis of this mystical experience and a full development of its implications. Such an analysis will therefore be attempted in a tentative way, in the hope that it may be suggestive for the better work of others, and with the understanding that in this brief discussion many implications must be omitted.

First, then, let us call to mind typical examples of the Witness of the Spirit. In his *Reply to Sadolet* Calvin represents a believer (this may be and probably is autobiographical) as saying: "My mind being now prepared for serious attention, I at length perceived, as if a light had broken in upon me, in what a style of error I had wallowed, and how much pollution and impurity I had contracted. Being exceedingly alarmed at the misery into which I had fallen, and much more at that which threatened me in the view of eternal death, I, as in duty bound, made it my first business to betake myself to thy way, condemning my past life, not without groans and tears. And now, O Lord, what remains to a wretch like me, but instead of defence, earnestly to supplicate thee not to judge according to its deserts that fearful abandonment of thy

word from which, in thy wondrous goodness, thou hast at last delivered me" (*Tracts*, I. 64).

One is reminded, of course, of the experience of Augustine in the garden and of Luther in the cloister. F. W. Boreham has collected many similar accounts in *A Bunch of Everlastings*. One of these concerns John Boston, author of the famous *Fourfold State*, who tells of hearing the Rev. Henry Erskine preach on certain texts. "By these," Boston says, "I judge, God spake to me; however, I know I was touched quickly after the first hearing wherein I was like one amazed with some new and strange thing." In the experiences just referred to, and in other examples which I have collected, the following six elements appear and demand special emphasis.

(1) The Testimony of the Spirit occurs in connection with the *reading* of Scripture; it does not concern itself with the writing of it. The Reformers held that all the Scriptures that God intended to give had been produced, and they were very strenuous in asserting against the Anabaptists that nothing further was to be added to them. On the other hand, they confidently taught that it was part of the perpetual office of the Spirit to witness to the Word till the end of the world.

(2) There was an immovable conviction that God had spoken directly to the reader. It was not simply that a general truth was heard; but there was the belief that God had said to the heart, "I have forgiven you; I will be a true Father to you." In fact, it is in such intuitions that Calvin believed one comes closest to God. "For then the pious mind has the nearest view of the Divine Presence, and almost touches it, when it experiences itself to be quickened, illuminated, saved, justified and sanctified" (xiii.13). And, as we have already said, it was

from this familiar experience that he derived his best confirmation of the deity of the Spirit.

(3) As this experience is necessary for salvation, it is common to all believers in all ages of the Church; to the wise and the stupid, the learned and the untrained, to the logical and to those with illogical minds. This is a platitude, I know; but it will be important to remember when we come to investigate the proper uses that can be made of our doctrine.

(4) Another self-evident fact, but one which must not be overlooked, is that since Christians in all ages have had this saving experience, it has occurred when they were reading a great variety of manuscripts and versions of the Scriptures. It has not been limited to the official text of the Roman Church or of any branch of the Protestant Church.

(5) The Witness of the Spirit is always focused upon a definite portion of Scripture; it is not an illumination of the entire Bible at once. For Luther it was the text, "The just shall live by faith." And we think of John Knox, who when dying said to his wife, "Go read me where I cast my first anchor." Many have, of course, felt that the entire Bible took on a new radiance; this was undoubtedly the experience of Calvin, and at times of Luther and many another great Christian. But the enlightenment of the mind of Luther concerning his famous text did not at once make plain to him every other great passage of Scripture. History reveals terrible blind spots in the vision of some of the greatest leaders of the Church, who nevertheless grasped some truths so clearly that they became the teachers of them to later generations. In his *Reply to Sadolet* Calvin says: "I do not, however, dream of a perspicacity of faith which never errs in discriminating between truth and falsehood, is never deceived. . . .

On the contrary, I admit that pious and religious minds do not always attain to all the mysteries of God, but are sometimes blind in the clearest matters." Yes, one thinks immediately of Servetus! And the Presbyterian Board of Publication, in the Advertisement to their edition of Calvin's *Institutes*, felt obliged to warn the reader concerning Calvin himself: "Although learned and pious, he was a fallible man; and his opinions, although deserving of profound respect, are not to be blindly followed." The Witness of the Spirit in actual experience is not a blanket confirmation of Scripture as a whole, but is always concerned with some definite portion of Scripture.

(6) We believe that a careful analysis of any large number of examples will disclose the fact that the Witness of the Spirit is given only in connection with moral and spiritual truths—such as can reach the heart and are not, for example, merely geographical or historical. Many historical statements are, of course, concrete illustrations of great divine principles, such as, preëminently, the narrations of the saving work of Jesus Christ. But when one reads that a certain king of Israel was punished for his sin, the truth that is sealed on the believer's heart is not that the assertion of fact is true; but by the Spirit's testimony the reader himself is convicted of sin—he knows assuredly that God's righteous judgment awaits him also unless he repents of every similar deed and thought. For the illumination of the Spirit is always personal.

That is why Luther made the promise of pardon in Christ, the very heart of the Gospel. Calvin followed Luther when he inquired, "what part of the word it is, with which faith is particularly concerned," and answered that "we need a promise of grace, to assure us that he is our propitious Father." Indeed, it is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of a witness of the Spirit that could

accompany a purely scientific, historical or geographical fact in which no moral principle is involved, and I have never found anywhere the description of such a testimony. At this point we must carefully distinguish between verisimilitude and the Witness of the Spirit. The former is a characteristic of many even imaginary historical tales; the latter makes moral truth self-authenticating.

When, now, we further consider these six elements of the Witness of the Spirit, it seems that the following conclusions are inevitable:

(1) The Witness of the Spirit does not guarantee the entire perfection of the text or translation in connection with which the experience has occurred. If this were so, then all the varying texts and translations which the saints have used in all the ages of the Church and in the present-day mission fields would be certified as correct—which is absurd. Calvin's own text included the verse concerning the Three Witnesses (I John 5:7) which has since been rightly rejected as spurious. Nevertheless, since the Holy Spirit has illuminated the minds of the saints as they read these diverse translations, the Westminster divines were justified in saying that they are to be read "with firm persuasion that they are the very Word of God."

(2) The Testimony of the Spirit can not be used to determine the canon of Scripture. If so, the Septuagint canon would be validated; for it was widely used in the days of the martyrs—Origen argued specifically for the canonicity of the story of Susanna. On the other hand, the Apocrypha of the Old Testament were rejected by most, if not all, of the great Protestant creeds.

Furthermore, the Witness of the Spirit was not had by everyone, even in Protestant circles, with regard to every book in the Protestant canon. The late William

Cunningham, principal of New College, Edinburgh, quoted with approval (*Theological Lectures*, p. 291) the following statement of Richard Baxter, which Principal Cunningham said was also concurred in by Dr. Chalmers: "For my part, I confess, I could never boast of any such testimony or light of the Spirit (nor reason either) which, without human testimony, would have made me believe that the book of Canticles is canonical and written by Solomon, and the book of Wisdom apocryphal and written by Philo, etc. Nor would I have known all, or any historical books, such as Joshua, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, etc., to be written by divine inspiration, but by tradition."

(3) The quotation from Baxter given just above suggests this query: Is the Witness of the Spirit limited to the form of words in Scripture, or may it accompany moral and spiritual truth expressed in other terms? Baxter seems to have prized the book of Wisdom on this basis. At any rate, we note that it is traditional in Protestant circles that the Sacraments and the Preaching of the Word are also means of grace. For example, the Westminster Larger Catechism (Q. 153) asserts, "The Spirit of God maketh the reading but *especially the preaching of the Word* [the italics are mine], an effectual means of enlightening, convincing and humbling sinners, of driving them out of themselves, and drawing them unto Christ." Is there any discernible difference between the Witness of the Spirit by which the promises of God's Word are sealed in the believer's heart to the conversion of his soul, and the work of the same Spirit in making "especially the preaching of the Word" an effective means of illuminating the conscience? John Boston heard the very voice of God in Erskine's sermons, and John Wesley caught the same accents as he listened to the reading of Luther's descrip-

tion of the work of faith. Are we wrong, then, in saying that the Witness of the Spirit is not bound to the letter of the Scriptures, but has relation to the truth, no matter in what phrases it is embodied?

For many long years the strange rhymes of Rous's version of the Psalms winged their way to the hearts of our Scottish ancestors. And has not the Spirit accompanied with converting power the great hymns of the Church—yes, and even the doggerel verses in many of the earlier songs of the Salvation Army? Do we not, then, rightly conclude that the Testimony of the Spirit is a witness to the truth by the Spirit of Truth who is above the limits of any one form of words? For he worketh when and where he will.

(4) Another important deduction is that the Witness of the Spirit does not guarantee the immediate perfect intellectual appreciation of the truth that is illumined. Luther in the beginning had not even a suspicion that his acceptance of the doctrine of justification by faith involved a life and death struggle with the papacy, and even today one wonders whether the full implications of this great doctrine have been seen. The "madness of the theologians" seems to prove conclusively that the enlightenment of their minds by the Spirit did not extend to the theological deductions that they made from Biblical truths. We are forced to agree with Calvin, "Thus we see, that a mind illumined by the knowledge of God, is at first involved in much ignorance, which is removed by slow degrees" (III. ii. 19).

(5) From the fact that the illumination by the Spirit is necessary for salvation, two conclusions must be drawn, which, because they are so closely interwoven, we shall combine under one grouping. Calvin asserts that he who depends on the light of nature has no apprehen-

sion of the mysteries of God. "Nay, even his utmost endeavours can avail nothing, because they are spiritually discerned. . . . It must be concluded, therefore, that there can be no admission into the kingdom of God, but for him, whose mind has been renewed by the illumination of the Holy Spirit" (II. ii. 20). And the Westminster Confession (I. vi; cf. Larger Catechism, Q. 157) says, "Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the *saving* understanding [the italics are mine] of such things as are revealed in the Word."

The first conclusion, then, is that a mere intellectual assent to the factual truths of Scripture is, as the early Reformers held, worth very little. Luther says: "One can find many who say, Christ is a man of this kind, he is the Son of God, born of a pure, chaste virgin, has become man, died and was raised from the dead and so on. This amounts to nothing (*Das ist alles nichts*)."

And Calvin in the same tenor asserts: "Many men believe that there is a God, they admit the evangelical history and the other parts of Scripture to be true; just as we form an opinion of transactions which are narrated as having occurred in former times, or of which we have ourselves been spectators. There are some who go further, esteeming the Word of God as an undoubted revelation from heaven, not wholly disregarding its precepts, and being in some measure affected both by its denunciation and by its promises, to such persons faith is attributed. . . . But this shadow or image of faith, as it is of no importance so is unworthy of the name of faith." And further on, continuing the same subject, he says, "But let them, who glory in such phantoms of faith, know, that in this respect they are not at all superior to devils" (III. ii. 9f.).

On the other hand, what place must be assigned to the

experience of illumination wherein the Reformers believed (I. xiii. 13) that they had the "nearest view of the Divine Presence and almost touched it as their hearts were quickened, illuminated, saved, justified, sanctified"? The answer can only be—and this is our second conclusion—that it is at once the very heart and the real dynamic of Protestantism. On the validity of this face-to-face-with-God experience, Protestants staked their lives and their destinies for time and eternity. It produced the Reformation, and in its rediscovery lies the only hope of spiritual strength for our own day. No assent to historical or even theological truths which may be "in the wicked and in the devil" can ever have the constructive force of the Spirit-illuminated Word. The Witness of the Spirit was not only the ultimate basis for the authority of Scripture among Protestants; it was also the source of their creative might.

HAD MUHAMMAD A SCRIPTURE TEACHER?

BY ARTHUR JEFFERY

PROBABLY the most distinct impression left by a first reading of the Qur'ān, even by the casual reader, is that of the large amount of Scriptural or semi-Scriptural material that it contains. The Vedas, Upanishads and Puranas of Hinduism, the Pali Canon of Buddhism, the Gathas, Venidad and Bundahish of Zoroastrianism, all open up to us new and strange worlds; but in the Qur'ān we meet familiar figures, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Job, Joseph, Moses, Jesus and Mary. The impression is very strong that we have here a good deal of plagiarism from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. "It struck me," says Tischendorff, "that the Koran, by many a trait, had the same relation to the Bible as the imitator has to an original genius."

When one undertakes a closer examination, the dependence on Scriptural sources becomes even more manifest. Not only are the chief characters of the book of Scriptural origin; but very many details of the teaching, and elements of the cult, are from the same source. The major doctrines of Qur'ānic theology are obviously modeled on those of Jewish and Christian theology, and the practical teaching as to prayer, fasting, almsgiving, etc., frequently follows, even in detail, the teaching of the older religions. If we then turn to the Arabic text of the Qur'ān for a still more minute examination, our previous impression is more than confirmed. In phraseology and vocabulary we are constantly finding reminiscences of, and even direct bor-

rowings from, the language of Scripture. The technical religious vocabulary of the Qur'ān, indeed, is made up very largely of material borrowed from Jews and Christians.

Some of these terms are recognizable on the surface, *e.g.*, *Shaitān*, is Satan, *Iblīs* is diabolos, *Injil* is evangelium, *Tawrah* is Torah, *Jehannam* is Gehenna, *Firdaus* is Paradise, *Masīḥ* is Messiah, *Sakīna* is Shekina, *Zabūr* is Psalter, *Gibrīl* is Gabriel. Others are apparent only to the philologist, and a few examples of these must suffice:

From Hebrew come words for spirit (*rūḥ*), prophet (*nabī*), sin (*khaṭa'a*), merciful (*raḥmān*), creator (*bārī*).

From Aramaic come words for alms, prayer, house of worship, fasting, religious sect.

From Syriac come words for God (*Allāh*), revelation, priests.

From Ethiopic come words for disciple, idol, angels, accursed.

The question, therefore, naturally rises; whence did Muḥammad acquire his Scriptural knowledge? This question, indeed, was asked by Muḥammad's contemporaries, and answered by them. The Meccans to whom he addressed his message immediately caught hold of these Scripture stories that he had worked into it, and roundly asserted that they were "tales of former time" which some foreigner had taught him.

The Qur'ān itself bears indisputable witness to this. To begin with, it makes constant reference to the Judæo-Christian Scriptures. Jews and Christians are called "people of the Book," (*ahl al-Kitāb*) and as such given specially honorable position (III.198; V.72, etc.). Law, Gospel and Psalter are often expressly mentioned, and Muḥammad frequently asseverates that this teaching of his is all contained in the older Scriptures (XX.133; XXVI.169; XLVI.9, 11) and that its agreement with them is

proof of its inspiration (XLVI.9). Again he states that any doubts with regard to his message are to be settled by reference to previous Scriptures (X.94), since it confirms in Arabic what they had revealed to man (X.38; XII.III; V.52).

More interesting still, however, is the fact that we have in the Qur'ān passages where Muḥammad is replying to his contemporaries, who admitted the justice of his claim that his teaching was all in the Scriptures of old, but added that this was so because some one in possession of these earlier Scriptures was giving him instruction. "Those who disbelieve say—'This is naught but a lie that he has forged, and another people has helped him with it'—but they have brought an injustice and a falsehood. And they say—'Tales of the ancients which he has written down while they are dictated to him morning and evening' " (XXV. 5ff.). "Again, they say—'It is only some mortal who teaches him,' but the tongue of him whom they indicate is foreign, whereas this is plain Arabic" (XVI.105; cf. also XXIX.47).

It is indeed possible that we have in the Qur'ān in passages such as II.71-74 (cf. III.184) evidence that Muḥammad even purchased material from the Jews which was sold to him as Scripture, but which he afterwards discovered was merely intended to deceive him. So II.141 might suggest that he did get some genuine material from a Jewish source and then astonished the rest of the Jews by producing it, though in their chagrin they would not admit that it was genuine Scripture. In any case, in the stories of Joseph and of Ahl al-Kahf there is indication that Muḥammad had to make some effort to procure Scriptural information so as to satisfy the demands of his audience (cf. XII.7, 103, 104; XVIII.21f.) and it might be

inferred from XXXI.5 that the purchasing of literary material was no uncommon phenomenon in his day.

Since a mentor is thus clearly hinted at in the Qur'ān, we find the question of Muḥammad having had a Scripture teacher raised in Muslim circles almost as soon as Muslims began to busy themselves with the interpretation of their sacred book. The two points that stand out in the Qur'ānic references are, first, that the mentor was some one acquainted with the Judæo-Christian Scriptures, and, secondly, that his native tongue was not Arabic. In the earliest exegesis of the Qur'ān, therefore, we find an effort made to hunt through the Traditions to find out what non-Arabs were known to have been in contact with Muḥammad in Mecca and Madina, so that if possible the figure of the mentor may be identified.

It is well known that the Commentators were wont to invent where they had no accurate information; but we may gather from their works a list of names, some of which seem to have some claim to be historical; that is, we may believe that the persons mentioned were actually foreigners who had some sort of contact with Muḥammad—though whether he obtained Scripture material from them is another question.

(1) *Bil'ām*.¹ A Christian blacksmith dwelling at Mecca whom Muḥammad used to frequent. He was a foreigner who spoke the *Roumī* (Greek) language, and in Mecca was known as Abū Maisara. The name is obviously the Syriac form of Balaam; so that in all probability he was a Christian from some part of Syria or Mesopotamia who had either been brought as a slave to Mecca, or less probably had come in a caravan and settled there.

¹ All numbered references, including this one, will be found at the end of the chapter.

(2) *Ya'ish*.² A foreign youth who was the slave of the Banū al-Maghīra or the Banū al-Ḥadramī, or Banū 'Amir Lu'ai who was skilled in reading and with whom Muḥammad used to read Scripture. His name is probably a slave-name given him by his owners, and there is no indication as to his origin.

(3) *Jabr*.³ A Christian youth who was the slave of the Banū Bayāḍa al-Ḥadramī, a Greek by birth and who possessed a book of Scripture. Muḥammad used frequently to sit with him at the drinking fount as he read from his book. Some said that he taught Khadija, Muḥammad's wife, who then taught her husband. Some, however, said he was a Jew, and he seems by profession to have been a metal polisher. In Syriac *Jabr* forms the first part of several names; so it may have been an abbreviation of his real name if he was a Syrian from the Byzantine territory, or it may have been an Arabic slave-name conferred on him by his owner.

(4) *Yasār*.⁴ A youth from 'Ain at-Tamar, nicknamed Abū Fakiha, who used to read the Torah, and who in many traditions is associated with the above mentioned Jabr, it being related that Muḥammed frequently stopped to listen to them as they read from the *Tawrah* and the *Injil*. Yasār is said to have been by profession a maker of swords.

(5) *Salmān the Persian*.⁵ He was in very close contact with Muḥammad in Madina, and is celebrated in history as the originator of the famous trench which was dug to protect Madina against the attack of the Meccan troops in the year 5 of the Hejira. It is noteworthy, however, that in the earliest accounts of the trench the name of Salmān does not appear, and it is possible that his name has been associated with it on account of the Persian word used for the trench, *khandaq*. Salmān's story is that he

was the son of a Persian official and brought up in the religion of the fire worshippers. Being sent one day to one of his father's properties, he happened to pass by a Christian church where service was being held, and was so impressed by this religion that he ran away from home and went to Syria, where he dwelt many years with Christian monks. While journeying in the Arabian borderland, he was taken prisoner by the Arabs and sold to a Jew. Later he came to Madina and became a Muslim and a freedman of the Prophet.

(6) '*Āyish*.⁶ A white slave (Mamlūk) of Ḥuwaiṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, who was a foreigner who later became a Muslim. It is possible that his name is simply another form of the above mentioned Ya'īsh. He is said to have been originally a Christian, and probably came from the Byzantine area.

(7) '*Addās*.⁷ A slave of 'Utba b. Rabī'a, who also had a book. He is said to have been a Greek-speaking Christian, *i.e.*, in all probability an inhabitant of the Asiatic province of the Byzantine Empire. The story of Ibn Hishām, (280 f.) says that he was from Nineveh and became a convert during the Prophet's visit to Ṭā'if.

The Commentators, of course, explain elaborately that the unbelievers were quite wrong in their assumption that Muḥammad learned anything from any of these men. He was either visiting them to teach them Islam, or just happened to be passing and heard them reading; so that there could be no question of his learning anything from them. We, from our point of view, may go so far as to say that at least no *systematic* instruction in Scripture could have been given by any of these, though, of course, Muḥammad may have derived odd items of information from them or from any other Jews and Christians whom he may have

chanced to meet. In this connection we may mention some other individuals whose names have been preserved in the Tradition, and who also may have been such sources of information about Scripture.

(1) *Waraqā b. Naufal*.⁸ Who is said to have been a cousin of Muḥammad's first wife, Khadīja, and whom tradition alludes to in connection with Muḥammad's first revelation.⁹ He seems to have been a Christian and particularly skilled in Scripture, tradition claiming that he wrote out the Gospel in Hebrew characters.¹⁰ Muslim legend has made much of him, placing him among the famous Ḥanīfs, who in tradition play the part of fore-runners of Muḥammad; but it admits that he died a Christian, which is strong evidence that he must have been an historical character. Recently Tor Andrae, in *Muhammad* (Göttingen, 1933, p. 91), has suggested that he may have had an important influence on Muḥammad's early thinking.

(2) *Bilāl*.¹¹ An Abyssinian slave of a man of the tribe of Jumaḥ b. 'Amr. He was an early follower of Muḥammad and suffered much persecution till Abū Bakr purchased him and gave him his freedom. He was the first muezzin in Islam. He seems not to have been an intellectual person; but as an Abyssinian he would have been a Christian, and like most of his countrymen well acquainted with the curious legends that pass for Scripture in the Ethiopic Church.

(3) *Umm Aīmān*.¹² An Abyssinian slave woman belonging to Muḥammad's father, who nursed the Prophet and cared for him as a child when his mother Amīna died at Al-Abwā'. It is not a little curious that in the traditions setting forth the attainments of the Prophet we find it stated that he was particularly skilled in Ethiopic (cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG*, xxvi, 770), which may be based

on the reminiscence of the Prophet's use of a few words or phrases of Ethiopic that he may have learned in childhood from his nurse or from other domestics of Abyssinian origin.

(4) *Mary the Copt*.¹³ Muḥammad's favorite concubine and the mother of his little son Ibrāhīm, whose death in infancy caused the Prophet such poignant grief. She is always called "the Copt," though whether she was an Egyptian or an Abyssinian slave is a question. She was presented to Muḥammad by the governor of Egypt, so the story goes; but beyond the fact that she was a slave girl of African origin and of Christian faith, it is impossible to go with any certainty.

(5) *Zaid b. Ḥāritha*.¹⁴ A slave from Syria who became Muḥammad's freedman and then his adopted son. He was brought from Syria in a group of slaves by Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, a cousin of Muḥammad's wife Khadija, and was brought by Khadija into the Prophet's family. He was a Christian by faith, but became one of the early converts to Islam. Muḥammad seems to have had a peculiar fondness for him, and may have learned much from him in the familiar intercourse of the home. The story of Zaid's conversion, however, suggests that he could not have had any deep grounding in the Christian faith.

(6) *Shu 'aib b. Sinān*.¹⁵ Who was born and grew up in the territory under Byzantine rule, but was later brought as a slave to Mecca, where he became friendly with Muḥammad and was converted to Islam.

If this catalogue of names proves nothing else, it is a demonstration of the fact that Muḥammad had, at least, ample opportunity of learning Scripture without going outside Mecca. The polemic of the Qur'ān makes it perfectly clear that there were Jews and Christians in his audience, and bodies of Jews and Christians in and around

the city, whom he addressed directly in his exhortations to the "people of the Book."

When we turn to non-Muslim sources we find that at a quite early period there was a widely known story among Eastern Christians that Muḥammad had been taught his Scripture knowledge by a renegade or heretical Christian monk. The story appears in many forms, and the particular heresy connected with the monk is always that most offensive to the community of the writer of the story. There is a family likeness to all the versions, however, and they probably all go back to a common origin.

(a) In the Byzantine writers¹⁶ we have several notices of this monk. Thus Theophanes (751-818) in his *Chronographia* tells us how Muḥammad in his journeys to Palestine came into contact with Jews and Christians, and in Mecca itself was in contact with a certain renegade monk. When Muḥammad began to have his trances and revelations, his wife Khadija, who had been somewhat grieved that she had married a poor man and was now even more grieved to find that she was wedded to an epileptic, would not believe his assertions that the angel Gabriel had come to him. When she went to this monk, however, he informed her that it was even so; that this was the angel that was sent to all the prophets.¹⁷

This story of Theophanes is merely repeated in Euthymius Zigabenus,¹⁸ Constantinus Porphyrogenetus,¹⁹ and Cedrenus,²⁰ but Georgius Phranza tells us that the name of the monk was Sergius, and that he had been driven out of Constantinople. He became a friend of Muḥammad, and it was at Muḥammad's instigation that he persuaded Khadija that her husband's trances were due to an angel visitant.²¹ Likewise Zonaras, though he mentions no name, recounts how a monk who had been expelled from

Byzantium was the one who persuaded Khadija that Muḥammad's visitant was an angel.²² This latter story, however, seems to be a modification of the earlier form found in Theophanes, and as Nöldeke has pointed out,²³ Theophanes' account itself immediately calls to mind the well-known Muslim story of how when Muḥammad came to Khadija with the story of Gabriel's appearing to him, she went off to consult her cousin, Waraqa b. Naufal, who had studied the Jewish and Christian religions, and who comforted her by telling her that this was the Nāmūs (Gr. *nómos*) which appeared to Moses. In Nöldeke's opinion this story must have come to Theophanes from some Muslim source, probably from a baptized Muslim, so that in it we have no independent legend.

(b) In the ecclesiastical writer, Joannes Damascenus (754), who is an earlier authority even than Theophanes, we have another reference to the story. It is only a passing reference. John tells how, in the days of Heraclius, there arose a false prophet called Muḥammad who took some ideas from the Old and New Testaments, and after getting instruction from an Arian monk, founded his sect.²⁴ He then goes on to give some account of Muḥammad's teaching, as to which he is much more correctly informed than the Byzantine historians, but he says no more concerning the mentor. One would judge from John's account that he had actually seen the Qur'ān, but it is possible that his account came also from a converted Muslim.

(c) In the writers of the Eastern Church, however, we find the story fully developed. Thus in the *Risāla* of al-Kindī,²⁵ who wrote in the reign of al-Ma'mūn about 830 A.D., we find the following account.

There was a certain Christian monk named Sergius, who committed some offense which chagrined his fellow monks, so they excommunicated him, drove him

out, refused him entrance into the Church, and forbade his preaching, as is their custom in such cases. Then he repented for what he had done, and desired to do something to expiate his fault as a proof to his fellow Christians. So he journeyed to the land of Tihāma, and wandered around there till he came to the territory of Mecca. There he saw two religions contending in the land, the greater being the religion of the Jews and the other the worship of idols. So he persevered in showing kindness to your master (*i.e.*, Muḥammad) and persuading him till he won him. Now he was called by him (Muḥammad) Nestorius* and that was because he desired by changing his name to establish the doctrine of Nestorius which he himself believed and professed. So he ceased not to have audiences with him, keeping him company and conversing with him, putting forward one thing after another until he weaned him from the worship of idols. Then he made him his follower and disciple in preaching the faith of Nestorius. When the Jews got wind of this, however, they openly showed their enmity to him and raised the ancient question that was between them and the Christians. He, however, continued going deeper into the matter with him until he attained with him what he attained. This then is the reason why he (Muḥammad) made mention in his book of the Messiah and Christianity, why he protected and praised its followers, and testified of them that they are the nearest in affection (to Muslims), have priests and monks and are free from pride.

There can be little doubt but that there was a Syrian

*Al-Kindī (p. 79) makes the statement that Muḥammad also used to call him Gabriel, and at times "The faithful Spirit," suggesting that passages of the Qur'ān such as XXVI.193 refer to him. This reminds us of the Traditions which tell us that when Gabriel appeared to the Prophet he appeared in the form of a young man; cf. Bukhārī, II,309. Sprenger, (*Leben*, II,381) quotes a tradition about some Christian who became a Muslim and then returned to Christianity saying, "Muḥammad knows nothing save what I have written for him."

original for this story and that it circulated widely in Eastern Christian circles. Such a story, it is clear, might have been the original of the stories which reached the Byzantine historians. Unfortunately no early form of this Syriac text has survived, but we can find traces of it in a number of places.

(a) In the Muslim annalists we have a very curious story of how on one of Muḥammad's journeys to Syria during his youth, a Christian anchorite named Baḥira recognized in him the signs of prophecy and predicted his great future.²⁶ The story, of course, is quite fictitious, deriving from the period when it was felt necessary to have Muḥammad's prophetic advent foretold by representative characters of the older religions, but the name given the monk is most interesting. In the most ancient accounts he is merely a monk (Ṭabarī I, 1127); in some he is called Girgis,²⁷ which is clearly a corruption of Sergius,²⁸ in others Nestor,²⁹ but most commonly the name is Baḥira. The Girgis (= Sergius) and the Nestor immediately link up with the Christian story, and Baḥira even more clearly so. The Muslim savants did not know what to make of this word, some giving it as Baḥira and some as Buḥaira³⁰ (*i.e.*, as a diminutive form), but it is obviously the Syriac *bhira*, a common honorific title for a monk in the Eastern Church.³¹ Now Mas'ūdī (*Murūj* I, 146) expressly states, "The name Buḥaira in the Christian books is Sergius," and F. Nau notices (*JA*, 1915, 503) the occurrence in a Syrian manuscript (Zotenberg's *Catalogue*, MS. 30, fol. 244 vo.) of the actual name Sergius Bḥira. Here we seem to have a very clear reminiscence of the Sergius story as it circulated in its Syriac form.*

* Dussaud (*Mission*, p. 76) says, "La légende du moine Bahira, à qui l'on rapporte l'éducation du Prophète, est un des souvenirs les plus remarquables de l'influence des couvents chrétiens sur les Arabes nomads."

(b) In 1898-99 Gottheil published the Syriac text of a later form of this Sergius Bḥira story,³² which as it stands probably belongs to the twelfth century, but the nucleus of which was undoubtedly much earlier. It begins, "Relying on the power of God and trusting in our Lord Jesus Christ, I write the story of our Master Sargis, named Sarqāya, Bḥira and Suryāya, whom they also call the enemy of the cross, the hermit who lives on Mt. Sinai, and how he instructed Muḥammad." The story is in three parts: (1) an account of how the author meets Bḥira and learns how he was persecuted because of his views and settled in Arabia; (2) an account of how Bḥira met Muḥammad and of the questions and answers that passed between them; (3) a number of apocalyptic visions of the future of the Muslim Empire.

(c) There is also an Armenian version of the legend. The early texts of this also seem to have perished, but K. J. Basmadjian deals with a MS. *Histoire du Père Elie de Kharpout*,³³ where we read that the saint, when he came to his disputation with Muslim officials, "took the four books—the Torah of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Gospel of Christ, and the Muṣḥaf of Sergius of Bokhara." Sergius of Bokhara is clearly the Sergius Bḥira of the Syriac story, and the reference to the Muṣḥaf links up with another legend of how the material of the Qur'ān was dictated to Muḥammad by his mentor.*

* Basmadjian adds: "On prétend que Serge de Boukhara était un savant chrétien et qu'il a composé avec le concours de Mahomet le livre sacré des musulmans. Pour prouver sa mission divine, Mahomet promit un jour à ses auditeurs de faire sortir miraculeusement le livre des Lois d'un puits. Serge s'était caché dans le même puits avec le livre; et lorsque aux yeux émerveillés des assistants le Livre parut, Mahomet ordonna à chaque croyant comme gage de sa foi de jeter une pierre dans le puits; et ainsi mourut Serge dans le puits même, et le secret du subterfuge ne fut jamais dévoilé."

(d) Bahira comes to light again in some of the later Greek writers. Thus in Bartholomew of Edessa we read that Muḥammad, since he was an uncultured man and ignorant of letters, linked up with a Jacobite monk named Baeira.³⁴ But here it is possible that we are getting, not a remembrance of the Syrian cycle of legend as preserved in the Christian Church, but a Christian interpretation of the story as learned directly or indirectly from Muslim sources.

It is, of course, quite clear that this Sergius story is pure legend, invented, we may suppose, to account for Muḥammad's knowledge of Christianity. Yet the story probably had some basis in fact. In Christian circles it would be known that Muḥammad was suspected of having had a mentor. Besides this, it would also be known what a strange caricature of Christian doctrine and culture was given by the statements of the Qur'ān about Christianity. From this it would be a natural conclusion that Muḥammad must have been taught by some heretical Christian monk, who had been driven out of the larger communions. Then when Christians learned the Muslim story about this Waraqa to whom Khadija went to inquire as to the meaning of the strange experiences of her husband, it was natural to link this on to the Sergius story.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to believe that Muḥammad had any systematic teaching from any Christian monk of whatever persuasion, if we are to believe that Muḥammad was sincere. Tor Andrae has drawn our attention to the very interesting fact that there are many striking resemblances between details of the *Frömmigkeit* of the Qur'ān and that of ordinary Nestorianism,³⁵ but this does not get over the fact that the Qur'ānic picture of Christianity is very largely a caricature. No monkish

teacher, Nestorian or otherwise, would ever have taught Muḥammad that the Trinity was a tritheism (IV.169; V.76-79) or that the Virgin Mary was the third person of the Trinity (V.116ff.) or would have left him with such total misconceptions as to the meaning of the Sonship or the Holy Spirit, or with such a travesty of the Eucharist as we have in V.112-15. Would a monkish teacher never have made clear to him that the Gospel was not a book of laws but a way of salvation, never have explained to him the significance of the Church, and never have taught him to distinguish between the New Testament and the silly stories of the apocryphal writings and ecclesiastical legends* which have been incorporated into the Qur'ān?

There still are naïve souls who believe that Satan himself was Muḥammad's instructor, and deliberately taught him such perversions of the true faith as would most effectively harm it. There are others who think that Muḥammad had a sound knowledge of the facts of Christian faith and practice, but of a set purpose garbled his account of Christianity, the better to serve his own ends. It must be confessed, however, that the longer one studies the Qur'ān, the stronger becomes the impression that its account both of Judaism and Christianity is based on hearsay, pieced together with fragments learned at different times and in different places. It may have been perfectly true that Muḥammad did procure certain stories or certain items of information from individuals of Christian origin in Mecca or Madina, and that his fellow townsmen knew of this and taunted him with it. That he had a Christian

* For example, the stories of Jesus speaking in His cradle (XIX.22, 30, 31), of His having made clay birds and then given them life by a breath (III.43), of the elders of Israel casting their staves in lots for the custody of Mary (III.39), which are from Apocryphal writings, or the stories of Alexander the Great (XVIII.82ff.), of the Seven Sleepers (XVIII.8-26), etc., which are from ecclesiastical legend.

mentor, however, who gave him definite Scripture instruction, seems to be out of the question.

This raises the further question as to whether he might have had a *Jewish* instructor. There was early rumor to this effect. Al-Kindī, in the *Risāla* quoted above, tells (p. 77) of two Jewish teachers, 'Abdallah b. Salām and Ka'b al-Aḥbār, who instructed Muḥammad after the death of Sergius. Both these characters are known to Tradition as Jewish converts to Islam³⁶ and both are famous as fathers of the haggadic elements in Moslem Ḥadīth.* Ka'b, indeed, is said to have been the teacher of such famous traditionalists as Abū Huraira and 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās. Muḥammad certainly came into contact with 'Abdallah, and he may have with Ka'b.† Could one of these, or some other Jewish man of learning, have been his Scripture teacher?

Professor Torrey has recently raised this question from a new angle. In his study on Islamic origins³⁷ he has come to the conclusion that the basal Scriptural and doctrinal teaching of Muḥammad was Jewish and not Christian. He notes the presence and importance of Jewish elements in the Arabia of Muḥammad's day, and the strong Jewish tinge to the religious teaching of the Qur'ān. This he thinks was fundamental, and the curious errors about Christian belief and practice, and the equally curious inadequacy of Muḥammad's presentation of Christian teaching, he considers to be due partly to the fact that Muḥammad got his information about Christianity from

* Both men were famed for their knowledge of Jewish legendary lore; indeed, the name al-Aḥbār, borne by Ka'b, is derived from the Hebrew *ḥabar*, an honorific title borne by scholars, particularly among the Babylonian Jews; cf. Baba Bathra, 75a. *Aḥbār* is the plural of *ḥibr*, and Ka'b's full title was *sayyid al-aḥbār*, which explains the plural form.

† Nawawī (*Tahdhīb*, 523) definitely states that Ka'b never saw the Prophet, but this is doubtful.

a Jewish source, which was either itself somewhat hazy about Christian teaching or else only taught Muḥammad so much about it as was thought good for him to know, and partly because Muḥammad was a very shrewd schemer who changed and adapted all the material he received so as to fit it to serve his own ends. Then, in an attempt to arrive at a more precise judgment as to Muḥammad's teacher, Professor Torrey thinks that the evidence points to this teacher having been a rabbi recently come to the Hijāz from some district in Mesopotamia.

Now it is true that arithmetically there is more of Old Testament material and rabbinical lore incorporated into the Qur'ān than there is of New Testament and ecclesiastical lore. It is also true that Muḥammad is more accurate in general in his dealing with this Jewish material than he is with Christian material—which would seem on the surface to point to his Scripture teacher having been a Jew rather than a Christian. We have to remember, however, three facts: (1) the Old Testament was also a Christian book, and a large area of religious thought and vocabulary was common to the two older religions; (2) the haggadic material in the rabbinical literature was commonly known and used in the Eastern Church;* (3) in the districts where Muḥammad may have come in contact with Christians, there existed those Christian sects which were so strongly tinged with Judaism that we commonly call them Judaeo-Christian sects.†

* Particularly in the Syriac-speaking and Ethiopic-speaking Church. The Syriac language is very closely related to the Jewish Aramaic, so that material was easily transferable, and Ethiopic literature (and, indeed, Ethiopic Christianity) is notorious for its strong Jewish coloring. It will be remembered that a number of extra-canonical writings (such as the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, etc.), though undoubtedly of Jewish origin, have survived to us in a complete form only in Ethiopic.

† Such, for example, as the Ebionites, and the sect which produced the Clementine literature. For another parallel cf. Schlatter, "Die Entwicklung des Jüdischen Christentums zum Islam" in *EMM*, 1918.

It is thus clear that much Scriptural material which was certainly of Jewish origin may have come to Muḥammad through Christian sources. A close examination of the material discloses some evidence that this is what actually happened in certain cases. For example, many of the proper names are found, not in their Jewish, but in their Christian forms as these appeared in the Greek, Christian-Palestinian,* Ethiopic, Armenian or Syriac. It is the Christian, not the Jewish form, that the Qur'ān uses for such familiar Hebrew names as Jonah, Solomon, Pharaoh, Elijah, Isaac, Israel and Ishmael.

Professor Torrey attempts to escape the force of this argument by assuming that the Jews of Arabia spoke a peculiar dialect of their own³⁸ to which can be referred those forms of proper names and other peculiar word forms that one would normally explain as Syriac. It cannot be denied, of course, that the Arabian Jews may have spoken a dialect of their own; but we have no indication of this, since such fragments as have survived of the verses of the ancient Jewish-Arab poets are in ordinary classical Arabic,³⁹ and it is very significant that every form referred by Torrey to his assumed Jewish dialect can be more simply explained by reference to the Syriac language.

Another pertinent fact is that some of the Old Testament stories appear in a Christian, rather than in a Jewish form. Künstlinger has worked this out in detail in the case of the Lot legend.⁴⁰ He points out that in the rabbinical literature Lot is always referred to as a very wicked man, and it is only in post-Islamic Jewish literature that we have references to Lot as a just man.⁴¹ In the Church Fathers, however, Lot takes his place among the patri-

* This Christian-Palestinian dialect has proved particularly fruitful in giving close parallels to borrowed elements in the technical religious vocabulary of the Qur'ān.

archs, and because of his position is much more a figure of respect. The fact that in the Qur'ān Lot is included among the "warners" who had been sent with God's message to men, would therefore seem to show that Muḥammad had learned about Lot, probably along with Abraham, from some Christian source. Similarly, the Solomon and Joseph stories seem to show traces of Christian origin.

Joshua Finkel, in an article published in the *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*⁴² would avoid this conclusion by the very curious suggestion that Muḥammad's stories about Old Testament characters came to him from an independent Israelitish tradition that had survived among the Jews of Arabia, and which was in many respects different from the tradition as codified in the Babylonian and Palestinian schools and made known to us through Talmud and Midrash. The theory is subtle but quite unconvincing, and the illustrative material is very far fetched.

A careful examination of the Jewish material in the Qur'ān, indeed, leaves us with the same impression as the examination of the Christian material, *viz.*, that it is not the result of systematic instruction, but was picked up by hearsay across years of intercourse with people familiar with Scripture. Would any rabbi have left Muḥammad with the idea that the Jews called Ezra the Son of God (IX.30) as the Christians claimed that Jesus was? Would a rabbi have taught him nothing of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and never led him from the surface to the deep spiritual teaching of the Old Testament? It is very significant that the Old Testament characters who appear in the Qur'ān are precisely those who figure most prominently in rabbinical legend, and what is told of them in the Qur'ān corresponds more with the rabbinical stories than

with the Old Testament itself.⁴³ This is precisely what one would expect if Muḥammad's knowledge of the Jewish religion were picked up casually during the normal intercourse he had with his contemporaries who knew that religion.

It is true that Muḥammad was not a man of great spiritual insight, and that he was essentially a practical man of action rather than a profound thinker; but this is not sufficient to explain the entire absence of any understanding of, or interest in, the spiritual teaching of the Old and New Testaments, if we assume that he had a Scripture teacher—that is, unless we believe that he deliberately rejected the finer things and consciously distorted the teaching given him, so as to make it subserve his own ends.

The instructor theory leaves us in a dilemma. We have already noted that it is very difficult to believe that Muḥammad was not sincere. The whole impression one gains from the Qur'ān is that he was honestly setting forth what he believed was correct, what to the best of his knowledge was the actual teaching of the Jews and Christians. In the Mecca and Madina of his days there were numerous Jews and Christians in the humbler walks of life with whom he may have associated as a youth, and even later in life.⁴⁴ From these Jews and Christians, not only Muḥammad but his Arab contemporaries had learned many things about the Scriptures. Quite a number of references to Biblical characters, to Noah, David, Solomon, Moses, etc., can be gleaned from verses of the pre-Islamic poets,* and it is noticeable how often in his preach-

* There are some modern scholars who deny the authenticity of this pre-Islamic poetry, and would explain the fact that it is precisely the Scripture characters who figure in the Qur'ān that we find in this poetry, by saying that they came to the poetry through the Qur'ān. As, however,

ing Muḥammad assumes that his audience has a certain familiarity with the Scriptural material with which he is dealing.

The answer, then, to the question whether Muḥammad had a Scripture teacher is both Yes, and No. If it is meant that he had a definite instructor, some Christian monk or Jewish rabbi, then the answer is, No. The condition of the Scripture material in the Qur'ān seems definitely to exclude any theory of systematic instruction in Scripture. On the other hand, Muḥammad apparently had many instructors in Scripture, people of Jewish or Christian faith who from time to time contributed items of information that he stored up in memory and used as occasion offered. Recently Massignon has suggested that there is some evidence that Salmān, the Persian, might have been one important source of such Scripture information,⁴⁵ but it is doubtful if we shall ever be able to discover with any certainty who were Muḥammad's numerous teachers of Scripture.

NOTES

Unless otherwise stated, when an author is named, the reference is to his work that has previously been cited.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Jamī' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur' ān*, 30 vols. Cairo, 1330, XIV, 119; Baghawī, *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*, 7 vols, Cairo, 1331 (on the margin of the *Tafsīr* of al-Khāzin), IV, 94; ar-Rāzī, *Mafātīh al-Ghaib*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1327, V, 353.

² See Note 1.

³ See Note 1; also Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isāba fī Tamyiz aṣ-Ṣahāba*: A Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Muhammad, 4 vols, Calcutta, 1856-71, I, 452; Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammed's*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1859, p. 260.

the majority of the Arabists still hold that the major portion of the corpus of pre-Islamic poetry is genuine, we may take it that its authors, like Muḥammad, were drawing from a common fund of oral traditions about these characters. Most of the references in the poets to Scripture characters are noted by Horovitz in his *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1926.

⁴ Ṭabarī, XIV,120; Baghawī, IV,94; Ibn Ḥajar, I,452.

⁵ Ṭabarī, XIV,120; Ibn Ḥajar, II,224; Ibn Hishām, p. 136ff.; Diyārbekrī, *Tārikh al-Khamīs*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1283, I,351f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, 12 vols, Hyderabad, 1325, IV,137-139; Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, i.e., Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850, p. 138; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, i.e., Biographical Dictionary of Illustrious Men, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842-47, pp. 292-294; Pseudo-Balkhī, *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, ed. Huart, 6 vols, Paris, 1899-1919, IV,110-113; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, i.e., Biographien, ed. Sachau et alii, 9 vols, Leiden, 1905-21, IV,i,53-67; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols, Cairo, 1313, V,441-444; ar-Razī, V,353.

⁶ Baghawī, IV,94.

⁷ ar-Rāzī, V,535.

⁸ Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III,1305; Abū 'l-Farāj, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 20 vols, Cairo, 1285, III,14f.; Ibn Qutaiba, p. 29; Ibn Hishām, p. 121; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje et alii, 15 vols, Leiden, 1879-1901, I,1147-1153; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba fī Ma'rifat aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*, 5 vols, Cairo, 1280, V,88; Ibn Sa'd, I,i,58; Nawawī, p. 614.

⁹ Bukhārī, *Le Recueil des Traditions Mohametanes*, ed. Krehl and Junybol, 4 vols, Leiden, 1862-1908, I,5; Diyārbekrī, I,317f.; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I,1147f.

¹⁰ Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, i.e., Ibn Doreid's genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1854, p. 102; Abū 'l-Farāj, III,14; Bukhārī, I,5.

¹¹ Ibn Qutaiba, p. 88; Ibn Hishām, pp. 345-347; Nawawī, pp. 176-178; Ibn Ḥajar, I,336ff.; Ibn Sa'd, III,i,165-170.

¹² Nawawī, p. 756; Diyārbekrī, I,229.

¹³ Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I,1561; cf. L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 10 vols, Milan, 1905ff., Anno 6,849.

¹⁴ Ibn Qutaiba, p. 71; Ibn Hishām, p. 160.

¹⁵ Ibn Sa'd, III,i,161f.

¹⁶ From the Byzantine writers the story passed into Latin authors; cf. Petrus Venerabilis in *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXIX,654-658; Guibert, *Patr. Lat.* CLVI,689.

¹⁷ *Chronographia*, I,512f., ed. Bonn, 1839, in the *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzant.*

¹⁸ *Patrologia Graeca*, CXXX,1333.

¹⁹ *De Admistr. Imp.* in *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzant.*, (sic) ed. Bonn, 1840, IV,91. He, however, says he was an Arian monk.

²⁰ *Hist. Compend.*, I,739, in *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzant.*, (sic) ed. Bonn, 1838.

²¹ *Chronicon.*, III,x,295f. in *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzant.*, (sic) ed. Bonn, 1838.

²² *Epitomae Historiarum*, III,214, in *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzant.*, (sic) ed. Bonn, 1897.

²³ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XII, 700 (1858), in an article, "Hatte Muhammad Christliche Lehrer?"

²⁴ *De Haerisibus Liber*, in *Patr. Graec.*, XCIV, 764f.

²⁵ Ed. London, 1880, pp. 76f.

²⁶ Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 1124, 1127; Ibn Hishām, p. 119; Ibn Sa'd, I, i, 76; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, i.e., Maçoudi Les Prairies d'Or, ed. Barbier de Meynard, 7 vols, Paris, 1863, I, 146. On the story see Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 381; Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, p. 22; Caetani, I, 137. Hirschfeld curiously rejects the Bahira story as mythical, but would accept Nestor as historical, while Caetani thinks that the Nestor-Sergius story is based on that of Bahira.

²⁷ Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa'n-Nihāya*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1351, II, 286, and Caussin de Perceval, I, 320.

²⁸ So Nau, *Expansion Nestorienne*, p. 215.

²⁹ Diyārbekrī, I, 262; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 6 vols, Damascus, 1329, I, 272. Al-Kindī (*Risāla*, 120) says, "Sergius who was called Nestorius and Yuhanna known as Bahira."

³⁰ Mas'ūdī, I, 146. The origin of this pointing is obviously in an attempt to give the name a genuine Arabic form.

³¹ So Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, XII, 704 n; Flügel in his notes to *Fihrist*, II, 12, and Nau, *op. cit.*, 215 n, who gives other instances of its use.

³² "A Christian Bahira Legend," in *ZA*, XIII, XIV. Gottheil published both the Syriac and an Arabic text of the story. In *ROC*, II (1897), pp. 439-454, Carra de Vaux had already published an abstract from an Arabic MS from Egypt—"Histoire des relations du moine Bahira et l'Arabe, racontée de auditu par le moine Morhab," where the name Morhab (= Mar Yahb, which is a contraction of Mar Isho'yabh) clearly reveals the Syriac origin. Three MSS in the Mingana Collection, numbered 71, 109 and 604 in the catalogue, also contain late versions of the legend.

³³ In *ROC*, 1910, pp. 337-349; 1911, pp. 55-57.

³⁴ *Patr. Graec.*, CIV, 1457.

³⁵ Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala, 1926.

³⁶ For 'Abdallah see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, 780; Ibn al-Athīr, III, 176; Nawawī, p. 374; Ibn Hishām, pp. 353, 395; Bukhārī, III, 50; Diyārbekrī, I, 392; *Fihrist*, p. 22; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 3106f. For Ka'b see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III, 635; Ibn Sa'd, VII, ii, 156; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I *passim*, and Israel Wolfensohn's recent treatise, *Ka'b al-Ahbar und seine Stellung im Hadith und Legendenliteratur*, Frankfurt, 1934.

³⁷ *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, New York, 1933.

³⁸ Torrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 74.

³⁹ Cf. Nöldeke's essay, "Die Gedichte der Juden in Arabien," in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, Hanover, 1864.

⁴⁰ "Die Christliche Herkunft der Kuranischen Lot-legende" in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, VII, 281-295 (1931).

⁴¹ Cf. *Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer* (Friedlander's translation, London, 1916), XXV; *Midrash Haggadol* (ed. Schechter, p. 285) and the *Alphabeticum Siracidis* (ed. M. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1858), fol. 6b, 12b, 17a.

⁴² Josiah Finkel, "Old Israelitish Tradition in the Koran," reprinted in the *Moslem World*, 1932, pp. 169-183. Cf. also his essay, "Jewish, Christian and Samaritan Influences on Arabia," in the *Macdonald Presentation Volume* (1933), pp. 147-166.

⁴³ See the work of Geiger already mentioned; also Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des Prophètes*, Paris, 1933.

⁴⁴ See Lammens' two essays, "Les Chrétiens à la Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire," and "Les Juifs à la Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire," reprinted in his *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beyrouth, 1928.

⁴⁵ *Salmân Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien*, Tours, 1934.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOOK

BY JOHN FREDERICK LYONS

AMONG the oldest forms of writing known today are the cuneiform of Assyria and the hieroglyphic of Egypt. Both of these were widely used at least a thousand years before Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees. While there is no evidence that any part of the Old Testament was written in cuneiform, this form of writing was in use in Palestine and neighboring countries during part of the period covered by Biblical history. Clay tablets bearing cuneiform inscriptions have been discovered in Palestine, and the Tel el-Amarna tablets discovered in Egypt also indicate that this form of writing was known in Palestine. Abraham was undoubtedly familiar with the cuneiform writing on clay tablets; for in our libraries and museums there are now thousands of such tablets that were written about the time of Abraham and that came from the region through which he migrated into Canaan.

The Israelites came in contact with Egyptian writing during their sojourn in the valley of the Nile. Surely Joseph, who was "learned in all the knowledge of the Egyptians," was able to read hieroglyphics.

Both the cuneiform and the hieroglyphic began with pictographs and developed into ideograms, phonograms, syllabic and alphabetical signs. It remained for pure alphabetical writing, however, to develop in the region between Mesopotamia and Egypt of which Palestine forms a part. It is a disputed question whether alphabetical

writing developed from Assyrian cuneiform or Egyptian hieratic or, as some present-day authorities hold, from the Minoan script. Sir Flinders Petrie's discovery in 1904 of inscriptions in the region of Mount Sinai tends to support the Egyptian origin. All scholars agree, however, that alphabetical writing, as we know it, took its rise in the region around the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Phoenicia, which is usually given credit for having developed our modern alphabet, was a near neighbor of Palestine. The Greek names for the letters (*alpha*, *beta*, etc.) show a Semitic origin (cf. *aleph*, *beth*, etc.). The Moabite Stone, which bears one of the earliest inscriptions in the ancient Phoenician alphabetic characters, was discovered just east of the Dead Sea and contains records throwing light on Biblical history. It is significant that the earliest known use of alphabetic writing was not only in the region of, but also at the time of, the composition of some of the earliest writings of the Old Testament, and undoubtedly the use of alphabetic characters in the sacred writings rendered the popular dissemination of their contents much more feasible.

One of the earliest materials used for writing was stone. It was from inscriptions on the Behistun rock that cuneiform was first deciphered, and the key to the early Egyptian writing was found in the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone. The Siloam inscriptions and the Moabite Stone also bear witness to the use of this imperishable material, and the Decalogue is said to have been written on "tables of stone." Job, too, desires (ch. 19:23f.) that his words might be written "with an iron pen . . . hewn in the rock forever."

A reflection of the common use of clay as a writing material is found in Ezek. 4:1, where the prophet is told to

take a "tile" (so American Standard Version), i.e., a clay tablet, to portray upon it a city.

The use of skins of animals is common in the history of writing. Leather was used for this purpose in Egypt as far back as the fourth dynasty (c. 3000 B.C.) and its early use in Persia is attested by Herodotus and Strabo. It is probable that leather was the principal vehicle of Hebrew literature in historic times. This is indicated by the roll form of books, which will be discussed later, and the Talmud requires all copies of the Law to be written on skins—a requirement that is observed by many Jews today.

Parchment differs from leather in not being tanned; the skins are merely stretched and dried, the hair removed from one side and the flesh scraped from the other, and the whole then smoothed with pumice. According to Varro, parchment originated at Pergamum, whence it derived its name. The "parchments" that Paul asked Timothy to bring him (II Tim. 4:13) were probably copies of portions of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Vellum is a fine grade of parchment, made from the skin of a young calf; the younger the calf, the better the vellum. This and ordinary parchment came later on to be the materials on which the finest copies of the Scriptures were preserved.

The material in most common use before the advent of paper, and from which paper derived its name, was papyrus. It was used in Egypt at least 3600 years before Christ. It was doubtless this common product of the valley of the Nile that received the autographs of the New Testament; indeed, so closely is this material connected with the Christian Scriptures that the very name Bible is derived from *biblos*, the pith of the papyrus reed.

The elder Pliny tells in detail (*Natural History*, XIII,

11-13) how papyrus was prepared for the reception of writing. The white cellular pith of the long triangular stalk was stripped of its bark and sliced into thin strips. Two layers of these strips were laid at right angles, pasted together, dried and smoothed, and the sheets thus formed were then pasted one to another to make a roll of any desired length. It is this material that the author of II John 12 had in mind when he said, "I have many things to write but would not write them with paper (*i.e.*, papyrus) and ink."

Papyrus was fairly inexpensive, varying in price in Roman times from two obols to one drachma and three obols, or from five to twenty-five cents a sheet. The chief trouble with papyrus was that it was brittle, "almost as brittle as dead leaves." This helps to account for the fact that none of the New Testament autographs is extant. In the dry climate of Egypt, however, and covered with the sand, papyri have been preserved through the centuries, and recent discoveries of these have been most illuminating in the study of New Testament language.

Ink in New Testament times was made of soot, mixed with gum and diluted with water. It was easily washed out when still fresh (cf. Col. 2:14, "Having blotted out the bond written in ordinances"). The "pen" referred to in III John 13 was a reed (*kalamos*) and reeds continued in use as pens throughout the middle ages. In earlier times the point of the pen was prepared for use by softening it in the mouth; later it was split like a quill pen.

During the period in which the Bible was written the roll form of leather and papyrus books was almost universal, and whenever books are referred to in the Bible it is this form that is in mind. In the King James Version of Psalms 40:7, "In the roll of the book it is written of me,"

the word "roll" was translated "volume," and, indeed, "volume" (Latin, *volumen*) originally meant a roll. It is clear that rolls were the "books" that Jeremiah dictated to Baruch, that Baruch read in the temple, and that were burned by the king. The word "leaves" in Jer. 36:23 is better translated "columns" (so the margin of the American Standard Version). In the roll form the writing was in columns a few inches wide, and the reader unwound the roll as he read, rewinding it with the other hand.

In Zech. 5:iff. there is recorded a vision of a flying roll whose dimensions were twenty cubits by ten cubits, or approximately thirty feet by fifteen feet. This would be a book of unusual proportions. The ordinary length of a roll was twenty to thirty feet; but the width (or, height) was rarely more than one foot, and usually was from nine to eleven inches. However, some unusual books which were not intended for practical use were a great deal longer than the one seen in Zechariah's vision. One hundred and forty-four feet is the length of an *édition de luxe* which the owner proposed to take with him into the next world. But Callimachus, the celebrated librarian of the Library of Alexandria, said, "A big book is a big nuisance" (*mega biblion, mega kakon*)—due to the fact that a long roll is difficult to handle.

The length of a work was often influenced by the length of a roll. The works of Homer were divided into books of a length that could be accommodated in an ordinary roll. It is thought that certain books of the New Testament were somewhat limited by the length of the rolls in common use, *e.g.*, Luke would fill a roll approximately thirty-one feet long. Other books of the New Testament would need rolls of the following lengths: Matthew, thirty feet; John, twenty-three feet, six inches; Mark, nineteen

feet; Romans, eleven feet, six inches; II Thess., fifteen inches.

The roll form of books was wasteful, because only one side was ordinarily utilized, but we do find cases (opisthography) where the rolls were written on both sides. The author of the Revelation (ch. 5:1) saw "a book written within and on the back," which corresponds to the vision of Ezek. 2:9f. of a roll "written within and without."

Sometimes a work of considerable length was divided into several rolls or tomes. The name "tome" is derived from the Greek *temnos*, which means a "cutting." The different rolls of the same work were sometimes kept in a case (*teuchos*), which in time came to mean not only the chest or vessel in which the rolls were kept, but also its contents, as is indicated by the designation *Pentateuch* for the five books of the Law.

The other form of book with which we are concerned is the codex, which came into use in the century following the production of the New Testament documents. Evidence of this is found quite definitely in the recently discovered Chester Beatty Biblical papyri. These are codices, and are dated by Kenyon in the first half of the third century. They indicate, moreover, the use of the codex form by the Christian community as much as a century earlier, or in the early part of the second century. The acceptance of the codex was evidently largely influenced by the desire of Christians to have their Scriptures in a form that could be easily consulted. The papyrus codex was used far more commonly, and at an earlier date, for Christian writings than for pagan works.

The codex is the form of book with which we are familiar in modern times. The word "codex" is an adaptation of the Latin *caudex*, which means a tree trunk. Origi-

nally codices were wax tablets bound together like the double slates used by school children, and, when thus bound together, somewhat resembling blocks of wood. In time leaves of parchment or vellum or papyrus took the place of wax tablets. The word *liber*, which originally was applied to the bark roll, was passed on to the codex.

The great advantage of the codex over the roll is that both sides of the vehicle for the writing can be used, and a large work, which in the roll form would occupy a number of volumes, can now be put together in a single book. The codex form was especially desirable in the case of law books and the Christian Scriptures. When Constantine ordered Eusebius to provide Bibles for presentation to the churches of the Empire, codices, not rolls, were sent. The earliest copies of the New Testament that are in existence are codices. Among the most famous of these are the Beatty Papyri, the Codex Vaticanus, and the Codex Sinaiticus, which was recently purchased from Russia by the British Museum for 100,000 pounds. It was probably in imitation of the roll form that early codices had three and four columns to the page. Later codices, however, used only two columns. Beautiful parchment was used for the codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, both of which date from the early fourth century.

Monasteries were the centers of culture through the centuries that we now know as the Dark Ages. To the diligence and love of learning of monks we are indebted for the preservation of both secular and sacred classics, and especially the Bible. Outside of Italy, for many centuries it was exceptional for documents or letters to be written by other than the clergy. A *scriptorium* was a part of most monasteries. This was jealously guarded, and was under the direction of a special officer, the *arma-*

rius. No one was allowed to enter the room except the scribes for whose use it was set apart and some of the high officials of the abbey. Artificial light was entirely forbidden, for fear of injuring the manuscripts.

In the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, Ireland excelled in calligraphy, as well as in other matters of culture. The most beautiful book ever made, in the opinion of experts, is the *Book of Kells* which is now in Trinity College, Dublin. This was written in the seventh century, and is asserted to have belonged to St. Columba. It is a copy of the Gospels in Latin, and exhibits both in form and color the full development of the Irish style with its adornment of formal, interlaced, spiral designs. According to Kenyon (*Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, p. 178) "No other style shows a quarter of the inexhaustible skill and patient devotion of the Irish school."

The Irish were fervent missionaries, and they soon carried their art as well as their Gospel to Scotland and northern England, and from there to the continent. One of the outstanding treasures of the Irish School in England is the copy of the Lindisfarne Gospels in Latin, now in the British Museum. This, also, is of the seventh century.

Charlemagne was an ardent supporter of learning, and was responsible for Alcuin of York's coming from England to the continent. Alcuin became Charlemagne's commissioner of education and established a school of calligraphy at the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, where the most beautiful manuscripts of this period were produced. One of the celebrated manuscripts prepared under the influence of Charlemagne is the Codex Aureus, now in the British Museum. This is written throughout in letters of gold, and its ornamentation shows the influence of the Anglo-

Saxon (or, better, Irish) style, being modeled somewhat after that of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Through reforms instituted by Alcuin, as the representative of Charlemagne, a distinct type of handwriting was introduced, the Carolingian miniscule. This is the style of letters (other than capitals) that is still in use today. The reform was inspired by the desire for correct and easily legible texts of the sacred books, and consisted in a revival of the pure form of the old Roman letters. The Codex Aureus is written partly in miniscule (lower case) and partly in uncials (capitals).

In the later centuries of the middle ages gold was frequently used in illuminating manuscripts. The pages were adorned with paintings, or miniatures—the word “miniature” being derived from *minium*, a shade of red that was much used in illumination. A beautiful example of such manuscripts is the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament of the thirteenth century containing ninety miniatures, which has recently been reproduced in facsimile by the University of Chicago Press.

Credit for the invention of printing has been claimed by Germany and Holland, as well as by France and Italy. No fewer than fifteen cities have laid claim to the distinction of being its birthplace. It is generally recognized, however, that Johann Gutenberg of Mainz invented printing from movable type some time before the middle of the fifteenth century.

Gutenberg's name is forever connected with the Bible that came from his press. This is the costliest book in the world. The copy, in three volumes on vellum, that was recently acquired by the Library of Congress in the Vollbehr Collection has been valued at a million dollars.

Printing from movable type was preceded by, or at least

accompanied by, block printing. This required everything on a page to be cut in a single block of wood, and the block could not be used for any other purpose than printing that page. Block printing, also, was used for disseminating the knowledge of the Bible. The most notable of the block books is the *Biblia Pauperum*, which consists chiefly of pictures. The central pictures on the pages represent scenes from the life of our Lord, arranged chronologically; above and below these are pictures of the prophets, and on each side are scenes from the Old Testament.

Printing was greatly facilitated by the use of paper. This had been introduced from the East about the tenth century, but was not used to any great extent before the thirteenth century, and it was not until the fifteenth century that paper gradually superseded vellum. Of the forty-five copies of the Gutenberg Bible now in existence, twelve are printed on vellum and the remainder on paper.

With modern mechanical means of reproduction of books, the tendency of the present day is toward mass production. But still the Bible remains the Book of books. It is published in nine hundred and forty languages and dialects, and every year it surpasses all other books in the number of copies that are sold.

Throughout the ages, and in this our own day, the Bible is *The Book*.

THE SOCIAL OPPORTUNITY OF THE MINISTRY

BY SHAILER MATHEWS

IN THE division of labor there is a calling as old as the first division of social duties, that of the religious leader. From earliest days men have had their priests and their preachers. To them they have looked for comfort in sorrow, denunciation in sin, courage and explanation in death.

Is this class today composed of what Disraeli once called teachers, "social parasites?" Will society outgrow ministers as men have outgrown tails? Will the clergy by and by get to be simply a sort of vermiform appendix of society—a relic of an organ once necessary but now only a source of discomfort?

The opposite is true. The ministry will never be anachronistic. As long as man is religious—and that means as long as he is man—and as long as society delegates certain forms of labor to certain classes, so long will the ministry have a legitimate function. As the physician cares for the body, as the lawyer cares for the quarrels, as the banker cares for the wealth of men, so will the minister care for men's moral and religious nature. He may, indeed, be defined as a man who in the division of social duties is entrusted with the care of men's spiritual nature. In fulfilling this function he may undertake many varied duties. He may preach to sinners and champion clean streets; he may encourage saints and war on municipal knavery; he may comfort the sorrowing and be a member of the school board. He may do almost any good work—

but he must essentially be the curator of souls. He must magnify his office.

The true exponents of the state of religion are not only your Luthers and your Caraffas, but also the rank and file of the ministry. Reformers and counter-reformers play more dramatic rôles than their followers; but the line of progress lies in resultants to be seen in the Christian movement as a whole. We may almost say that today we are in danger of an overplus of reformers. As Germany was once said to have a learned proletariat, so America is getting to have a proletariat of religious, social and civic leaders. What is needed is more men who are less anxious to accomplish wonders than to help direct the religious and social forces already in operation. We need fewer colonels and more sergeants.

The chief function of the Christian ministry is to transmute religious instinct into moral motive by the exposition of Christian truth; or, to use Scriptural terminology, to bring in the kingdom of righteousness. Philosophy has lacked ethical drive whenever it has not been religious. The simple preaching of a knowable God has more moral possibilities within its reach than the discussions of an Academy.

At first glance it might appear that those persons exhaust the duties of the clergyman who say that he has only to preach the old Gospel—to evangelize—to convert. But the thoughtful man knows that every age has to have its own style of Christian evangelization and teaching; that the best way to convert men today may not be that which proved so effectual in the eighteenth or the first century; that the Gospel must always be intelligible. Each generation has its own method of answering its problems, however identical these problems may be. The Gospel was

preached in the first century by appeals to miracle and prophecy, in the eighth century by war and monastery, in the twelfth by Crusade and Council, in the sixteenth by martyrdom and printing press, in the eighteenth by analogy and democracy. Each century's difficulty suggested the methods for that century's Christian work. What shall we say of today's?

To direct and inspire the souls of men has been no easy matter at any time; but it appears as if today the duty of the ministry were about to become far heavier. There can be no observer of the course of affairs who does not see that in many particulars the present condition of the Christian ministry is critical. That prestige bequeathed to it by Roman priesthood and Puritan theocracy has largely departed. Avoid it as you may, the fact is undeniable that the ministry is being weighed in the balance. If it is not to be found wanting, it must give evidence that it is needed.

I would not be understood to mean that the world is preparing to get along without clergymen. If the ministry were today utterly to fail in meeting the peculiar demands which are made upon it, it is not likely that there would be appreciably any fewer preachers. But I should expect that the ministry would be filled with fifth-rate men. You can not expect first-rate men to fling themselves away on a profession that offers little social opportunity beyond attending funerals, performing marriages, calling on the wives of men who never come to church, and gracing church socials. Ambitious men will not make themselves into social bric-a-brac. Noble minds want no coddling; they want an opportunity to work and sacrifice.

Nor is there much use in endeavoring to get first-class men into the ministry by promising them good living salaries, fair social position, discounts at shops, insurance sta-

tistics to guarantee a long life, and pensions to keep them in their old age. They will tell you that such things do the laity seek—and generally get much more of.

It is not strange that at the present time men who are moved by altruistic sympathies should so frequently turn from the pastorate to some form of social service. In part this is the outcome of the financial depression. In the interest of economy, churches have gone without pastors or have engaged ill-prepared men. Simultaneously the enormous development of relief organizations has given employment to many unemployed graduates of theological seminaries. Social service has become a profession which enables men and women to serve their generation from Christian motives without ecclesiastical restrictions. Their field of operation is pretty distinctly delimited and their efforts show tangible and immediate results in the alleviation of human misery. Protestants have been sympathetic with the development of scientific non-ecclesiastical charity, and as a result their churches are becoming much less the agents of philanthropy than are Catholic churches.

It is not surprising, therefore, that young men who wish to be of service to the needy should feel that they are loyal to Christ when they thus enter upon professional philanthropy. And in the light of the development of the Christian movement since the Reformation their position is undoubtedly logical; for the trend of the differentiation of groups within the Christian religion has been toward that which is decreasingly ecclesiastical. The state churches, non-conformist churches, democratic churches like the Methodist and Baptist, the Salvation Army, the Christian Associations and philanthropic associations chart a distinct line of organization in which Christian motives have been expressed without submission to dogmatic or ecclesiastical authority.

But after all allowance has been made for this tendency, there still remains the fact that churches offer a real field of influence for those who are ambitious to transform society as well as to convert individuals. Indeed, in the present tendencies in theological thought, and especially in the new ideals of religious education, we have emphasized the importance of the ministry as a factor in our total social life.

In the minds of many earnest Christians, the word "social" is interchangeable with "socialistic," and "socialistic" with "anarchist." I once heard a locally prominent preacher who was endeavoring to lecture on "The Sociology of the Lord's Prayer" make the interchange. It is not difficult to see that much of the opposition to the study of sociology is due to a similar confusion. If an educated ministry accomplished nothing more for its generation than the establishment here of proper distinctions, its mission would not be small. Someone has said, "Let me make the songs of a people and I care not who makes its laws." With almost equal truth might he have said, "Let me fix the vocabulary for one generation, and I have made the beliefs of its successor."

Closely connected with this clarification of thought is the opportunity for rationalizing and directing sympathy. In some cases it may be necessary to arouse it; but Christian principles have so permeated all classes of society that this is now a secondary task. An age that sends flowers to its convicted murderers, and feeds its prisoners on bananas, and punishes them by curtailing their tobacco supply, needs to have its sympathies educated rather than awakened. Even between industrial classes, sympathy is not altogether wanting, though the exigency of the moment too often prevents its expression. No class of men is better prepared to enforce the need of mutual conces-

sion than is the Christian ministry. With the Sermon on the Mount and the story of the self-sacrificing Christ they may go to society and work a revolution in its heart. Here the duty is not merely that of accomplishing the conversion of this or that man or woman. This is and always will be the duty of the servant of Christ, but it is not the only duty. Of almost equal immediate importance is the conversion of the social conscience—public opinion. Much here has already been done. Is it nothing that the public press is outspoken in its sympathy with efforts at reform and conciliation? Is it nothing that among the Japanese there is the Society of the Red Cross, and that their emperor should urge his soldiers to humane treatment of the wounded enemy? It is no reply to say that the church in its own person has not inaugurated all social legislation. Back of the awakening sympathy of today lies the reiteration of the Golden Rule, of human brotherhood, and, within the last few years, the reappearance of the historic Christ as the result of historical and critical study.

But if there is need here for earnest appreciation of the possibilities of a social regeneration, there is also great need for caution. Social science is no fad; nor is it a new invention—a sort of short cut to the millennium. So far as I know anything about sociology, nothing is farther from its conception than a leap into absolute perfection. With it as with the prophet of old, the formula is line upon line and precept upon precept, here a little, there a little. If there is anything that the minister needs to avoid, it is impatience. If Rome was not built in a day, much less will be the City of God. It is the fantastic and the ignorant who expect to see society saved by some formula or specific. The student knows only too well that even if perfection were once reached, the social organism would de-

velop new members that would compel the reorganization of the old.

This constant process, this constant appearance of new needs, necessitating the continual invention of new supplies, lays upon the minister the further need of being wary in his championship of new schemes of social regeneration. Perhaps in many a case the chief duty of the clergyman as as a social leader will be to let definite social problems alone. We can not all be Parkhursts. Bishop Westcott never spoke wiser words than these, in which he describes the office of the church: "It is not its office to discuss details or to prescribe rules. These belong to men who have a practical knowledge of affairs. But if the end is determined, there will not be wanting those who will give right counsel as to the way. It is, in a word, the office of the State to give effect to public opinion, it is the office of the Church to shape it."

The minister's share in social reform exposes him to the upper and nether millstones of indifference and zeal without knowledge. All the more, therefore, must he study the problem and prepare to meet its practical demands in life. If he will thus prepare, the church can rise to its opportunity, can shape and inspire social thought and actions with its own teachings, can direct the sympathy of all classes to each other's needs, can re-enforce scientific charity with Christian love, can make its own boundaries approximate ever more closely to the far limits of the world.

The pastor in the country church need not fear lest he shall not share in this social reconstruction of human life. He moulds the character of many a future leader of life. In the horizon of the social mission of the minister the conversion of some country lad, the conduct of some

schoolhouse prayer meeting, the organization of some village library, the establishment of some community center or young men's club or Boy Scout troop—any of the innumerable ways in which the modern pastor may convince his community that Christianity can be social without being lax, and can be evangelical without being other-worldly—seems full of promise.

The town and city pastor with his horizon full of municipal reform, extension lectures, social settlements, workingmen's clubs, charity organizations and the like, needs to bear in mind that his primary function is less the organization of extra-church institutions than the development of Christian attitudes within his own congregation. But such attitudes are not pietistic. Morality is becoming increasingly a matter that concerns the relation of *groups* to each other. It is not enough to express Christian ideals, or to claim divine guidance, in one's individual relationships. Individualism itself, like democracy, is becoming increasingly social. Only the hermit can live a detached life. We are all members of some economic and political group.

Morality must not only be motivated by Christian ideals, but it must be implemented by scientific knowledge. Good intentions are no guarantee of wise conduct. It is, of course, easy to denounce the sins which church members do not practice. It is a tribute to the power of the Christian religion that the churches have developed high principles for individual behavior; but what is now needed is an equally effective extension of Christian principles to economic, political and international affairs. However it may be described, the need of such extension is recognized by most observers as imperative. We can hardly expect economic groups or nations to practice sacrificial social-mindedness if they are not convinced that it really is wiser to give justice than to fight for rights. The message of

Christ was one of democratized privilege rather than an appeal to acquire privilege. The practice of such teaching involves sacrifices. Groups as well as individuals must take up their cross if love is to be anything more than a rhetorical symbol.

It is here that the minister has a peculiar significant opportunity. In the opinion of the world he stands for the principles of Jesus. He can become the champion of their expression in the group life of a community. Such an opportunity involves his recognition of the fact that wherever an economic or political procedure is best calculated to further the Christian principles, it becomes part of his duty to champion it. This does not mean that he will indiscriminately commit himself as a representative of the church to a political party or a social program; but it does involve the obligation that he should educate his people to realize that ideals do not work in a vacuum. Religion can furnish motives, where science furnishes methods. But neither one can be effective without the other. If social reconstruction is not to fall into the hands of those who oppose the basic principles of Christianity, Christian leaders must do more than denounce. They must become intelligent leaders in the development of the morality of groups.

It is a matter of supreme concern that so many ministers turn away from such obligation. They let moral leadership pass into other hands. The charge that religion is a social anaesthetic has altogether too much basis. To prepare men for heaven without preparing them to live in the present highly complicated situation is certainly to abandon moral leadership. It is one of the most encouraging signs of the times that so many of the younger ministers are interested in international affairs and in economic tensions. Such interest needs to be intelligently

guided in order that it may guide intelligently. Theological seminaries should train men not only in doctrines and in history, but in the study of population trends, in social theory and practice, and above all in the significance of Christian principles in group action. Sociology can not take the place of the Gospel; but a Gospel that is not social is an anachronism. To attempt to substitute mysticism or worship or eschatological pessimism for such moral tasks, if it be not downright cowardice, at least plays into the hands of anti-religious leaders. A Christianity that is out of touch with social change and tension is sterile. To spread a religion that has failed in its social implications is to make foreign missions a theological rummage sale.

PRIMITIVE RELIGION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY THEOPHILE J. MEEK

RELIGION may be defined as man's belief that there is that in his environment which is greater than himself, upon which he feels to some extent dependent, and with which he accordingly attempts to establish a relationship of mutual interest and good will. Just as soon as man developed to the point of reflective thought, just as soon as he became aware of his environment and his dependence upon it, he became religious. He sought a way of coming to terms with his environment in order to survive, and later, as he developed beyond the point of satisfaction in mere physical life, in order to live more abundantly. Religion is, accordingly, the product of experience; a way of life which comes to be expressed in the many institutions that we call religious.

Man was religious long before he invented the art of writing; and only in archaeological remains and in later survivals and reminiscences has he left a record of his early religion. Of these two sources, the latter is the more important; for in no realm of life is man so conservative as he is in religion. Religious institutions die hard; indeed, they rarely die at all, but rather are reinterpreted to suit new ideas and new situations. Probably no literature in the world is so full of these survivals and reminiscences as is the Old Testament, and it is our present purpose to discover what light it may throw on the form

and character of primitive religion and the course of its early development.

To begin with, the Old Testament shows us quite clearly what the early conception of deity was. The root meanings of the various words for "god" all suggest the idea of strength. The usual word, *'ēl*, apparently has "strong one" as its original meaning, and this meaning still persists in a number of passages (e.g., Ezek. 31:11; 32:21; Isa. 9:5; Job 41:17, Psa. 36:7). *'Elōhîm* is a plural form from the same root, and besides meaning "gods," or as an intensive plural, "god," it has the force of "strong" or "mighty" (e.g., Gen. 23:6, where the Hittites at Hebron call Abraham "a prince of god," meaning "a mighty prince"). *'Elyôn*, a frequent appellation of deity, means "exalted one." *Shaddai* is the Babylonian *shadû*, *shaddû*, which is the regular word for "mountain" and when applied to deity suggests strength; for its root meaning is "great one" or "mighty one." *'Ādôn* and *'ādônāi* are manifestly connected with the Babylonian *adānu*, which means "firm" or "strong."

All these terms for "god" confirm the idea that the early motive of religion among the Hebrews, as with other primitive peoples, was a sense of dependence upon that in the environment which was strong and was superior to the ordinary powers of man, and this is supported by the root meanings of the several words for "worship" in Hebrew, viz., "to fear," "to bow down to," and "to serve."

According to Gen. 33:20, when Jacob settled at Shechem he erected a *maṣṣēbāh** or sacred stone pillar there, and called it *El-elohe-Israel*, i.e., "El, the god of Israel." The

* Reading this in place of *mizbēh*, "altar"; so all scholars since Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 50.

sanctuary at Bethel (see Gen. 35:7) was called *El-Bethel*, i.e., "the god of Bethel." These and other references (like Gen. 28:18, Exod. 17:15, and Judg. 6:24) suggest that a very early form of the Hebrew religion was what we might call naturism, that is, the belief that the phenomena of nature, both animate and inanimate, are possessed of magic powers which may influence the life of man, and which in turn may be influenced by human activity through various rites. To primitive man the phenomena of nature were themselves deity—the actual mountains, stones, springs, trees, animals, storms, etc. They were greater than he; they controlled his destiny; upon them he was dependent, and their good will was necessary to him. Therefore he attempted to control them to his own advantage, and so gradually devised various rites and institutions. Thus is to be explained the origin of the rites that the Old Testament so frequently connects with sacred mountains, springs, trees, stones, and the like.*

Another form of early religion was ancestor worship. Of the origin and development of this there are clear evidences in the Old Testament. Manifestly it began with the tendance of the dead. Primitive man did not know what death was, but whatever it was, it did not mean for him the cessation of life. He simply knew that the friend who had hunted with him yesterday was today still and cold. Something mysterious had taken place; but he still thought of his friend in terms of his old living self, because life, not death, was all that he knew. His friend could no longer care for himself; that was clear. So his surviving relatives must provide for him the necessities of life. Thus arose the rites of offerings for the dead. They still lived on in another life, and in that

* For a list of these, see, for example, Paton, *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, 1, 51ff.

other life they needed all that they had needed in this life; food and drink and raiment (cf. Deut. 26:14; Hos. 9:4; Jer. 16:7; Ezek. 24:17; Tobit 4:17; Sira 7:33).

The belief in the reality of the other life arose not only from the impossibility of realizing the fact of death, but also from the experience of dreams. In them the dead appeared, and they seemed just as real and alive as ever they had been. With this experience there apparently came to man his first idea of spirit, which presently he applied to the phenomena around him; so naturism developed into animism or polydaemonism.

It was not the phenomena themselves that now were deity, but the spirits inherent in the phenomena. Everywhere in the human environment were spirits of daemons or numina, which were benevolent or malevolent according to their mood or character, and these could in turn be influenced by human activity. Hence, instead of the phenomenon itself being worshipped, it was the spirit in the phenomenon (see *e.g.*, Gen. 28:22, where Jacob is represented as giving to the sacred pillar that he erected the name of Bethel, *i.e.*, "the house of god," and contrast verse eighteen, where the earlier idea survives that the pillar itself is deity). But spirit is not here to be understood as very different from matter. It is simply matter in a less compact form, rarefied and aëriform. The Hebrew words *nephesh* and *ruah* well express this conception; they are both applied to man as well as to deity, and there is no clear distinction between them.* In many passages (*e.g.*, Isa. 26:9) they are synonymous; the root meaning of both is "breath" or "wind," and both are material.

* See Staples, "The 'Soul' in the Old Testament," *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XLIV, 145ff.

It is the spirit part of man that slips out of the body part of him at death (cf., *e.g.*, Gen. 33:18; I Kings 17:21; Eccl. 3:21; 12:7) and that lives on in the next life and appears in dreams; man's double as it were, the Egyptian *ba*. The dead, though inactive in the flesh, are more mysteriously active than ever in the spirit; and presently they come to partake of the characteristics of deity, so that they are in turn influenced by that which they themselves influence. There was something strangely mysterious about death itself and about the condition of the individual after death, and mystery always breeds awe, reverence and fear, which, as the Old Testament makes very clear, were the primary motives of worship.

The step to worship was an early and inevitable one. Upon the dead the living were to some degree dependent—so the experience of dreams of the dead seemed to indicate. The dead thus became controlling factors of life, and must in turn be controlled. Hence the offerings of food, drink and raiment became something more than supplies for the dead. They were offered in order to secure their interest and good will, or in order to placate them if for any reason they were evilly disposed. The dead were thought of as semi-divine beings; before long they became full-fledged deities, and were worshipped as such.

Among the Hebrews a highly elaborate cult of the dead developed rather early, and its rites and institutions continued in vogue long after their original significance had been forgotten. The Old Testament is full of references to this cult, and the prophets were vigorous in their denunciation of it. In I Sam. 28:13 the shade of Samuel is definitely called *'ēlōhîm*, *i.e.*, "god" (cf. also Isa. 8:19). The *'ēlōhîm* of Exod. 21:2-6 (wrongly translated "judges"

in some versions) were probably the ancestral spirits of the threshold.

The corpse was "unclean," and hence taboo (Num. 19:14-16), as deity always was. The graves of the patriarchs and others were sacred shrines* like the *welis* of the modern Muslims, and the regular equipment of a grave was the *maṣṣēbāh* or sacred pillar, the dwelling-place of deity. In Amos 6:10 (translating, not "he that burneth him," since cremation was abhorrent to the Hebrews and was inflicted only upon the worst criminals,† but "he that maketh a burning [*i.e.*, a sacrifice] to him") and also in Jer. 34:5; 16:4ff.; II Chron. 16:14; 21:19; Ezek. 43:7ff. and Psa. 106:28, we have references to rites of worship of the dead, and these continued even as late as the time of Isa. 65:4. Scholars are pretty well agreed today that the *teraphim* (cf., *e.g.*, Gen. 31:30ff.; Judg. 17:5; 18:14ff.; I Sam. 19:13ff.; II Kings 23:24; Ezek. 21:26) were images of ancestors, and in Gen. 31:30ff. they are explicitly called "gods."

Necromancy in all its forms is another clear evidence of belief in the divinity of the dead, and its practice was prevalent among the Hebrews, even after it came to be condemned by the more enlightened. The various mourning rites, like kissing the corpse (cf. Gen. 50:1), wearing sackcloth (Gen. 37:34; II Sam. 3:31), veiling the head (II Sam. 15:30; Jer. 14:3), cutting the flesh (Jer. 16:5ff.; 41:5), cutting the hair (Amos 8:10; Isa. 22:12), wailing (Gen. 37:34; II Sam. 3:31ff.), and fasting (I Sam. 31:13; II Sam. 1:12), all had their beginnings in ancestor worship, as scholars have long since noted,‡ and it was for this reason that most of these rites came later into disre-

* See, *e.g.*, Oesterley, *Immortality and the Unseen World*, pp. 101ff.

† Cf. Lev. 20:14; 21:9; Josh. 7:25.

‡ See, *e.g.*, Oesterley, *op. cit.*, Chap. XI.

pute, were condemned by the prophets, and were prohibited by the later law books (cf. Deut. 14:1f.; Lev. 21:5; 19:27f.).

The next step in the early evolution of the Hebrew religion seems to have come with the development of the clan. As the family revered its ancestors, so the clan came to revere its ancestral heroes. These were first exalted, and then deified as the tutelary gods of the clan. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob became eponymous heroes. Their graves were shrines where there were rites of worship. In Isa. 63:16 the deification of Abraham (cf. Luke 16:22f., and the transfiguration story) and that of Jacob (Israel) are definitely implied. Other heroes like Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (II Kings 2:11), in parallelism to the Babylonian hero Ut-napishtim, did not die but were transported to heaven to live with God, and manifestly to *be* god. The same, too, seems to have been the experience of Moses (Deut. 34:6), for according to rabbinical tradition his soul was separated from his body, not by death but by the kiss of God, and went to live with the angelic host in heaven.

It is clear from the Old Testament, then, that the early Hebrew religion was a very primitive one, and that many of its elements long survived in the popular religion, despite the efforts of priests and prophets to eradicate them. This early religion was polydaemonistic and polytheistic. The world was full of spirits controlling and directing human affairs. Some were inherent in natural phenomena; others were the spirits of the departed. Some of the most outstanding of both classes rose eventually to the rank of gods, and were given personal names. One of these was the god Yahweh, who came in time to be the most important of all the gods.

Like most gods, Yahweh undoubtedly had his origin in nature; if we were to derive his name from *hāwā*, "to fall" or "to blow" (= Arabic *hawā*), as many scholars do, this would seem to indicate that he was originally a storm god. The derivation is by no means certain; but apart from it numerous references in the Old Testament indicate that to begin with Yahweh was a storm god and that his early habitat was in the Negeb, or southern desert. This is precisely the representation of Yahweh that we find in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), which is probably the oldest piece of literature in the Old Testament.

O Yahweh, when thou camest forth from Seir,
When thou marchedst from the land of Edom,
The earth quaked, the heavens also shook,*
The clouds, too, dropped water,
The mountains rocked† at the presence of Yahweh,
At the presence of Yahweh, the God of Israel.

We find exactly the same representation of Yahweh in Deut. 33:2.

Yahweh came from Sinai,
And dawned on us‡ from Seir;
He shone forth from the mountains of Paran,
And advanced from Meribath-Kadesh,||
With his lightning-bolts§ at his right hand.¶

Yahweh was not a god of the settled land; so the Hebrews in Egypt had to make a three days' journey into the desert to visit his shrine (Exod. 3:18; 5:3). His earliest

* So the Versions read in place of the Massoretic text, "the heavens also dripped."

† So the Kethibh and Versions as against the Qere, "the mountains streamed."

‡ So the Versions read as against the Massoretic text, "dawned on him."

|| So all scholars now, as against the Massoretic text, "from holy myriads," which gives no sense.

§ Reading *'ashîdôth* in place of the senseless *'ēshdath*, "a ball of fire (?)."

¶ Cf. also Hab. 3:3ff.; Psa. 68:8ff.

and most frequently used title in the early period was *El Shaddai*, the "mountain god," and as a mountain god he was known to the Syrians as late as Ahab's time (I Kings 20:23). His theophanies to Moses were in a flame of fire (Exod. 3:2) and in thunder and lightning and cloud (Exod. 19:16ff.; 24:15ff.). It was in a column of cloud by day and in a column of fire by night that he led his people through the desert (Exod. 13:21ff.; 16:10), the thunder-peal with all its terrors was thought to be his voice (Exod. 19:19; I Sam. 7:10; Amos 1:2; Psa. 18:14; 29:3ff.; 104:7), and as a storm god he continued to be remembered throughout the entire course of Hebrew history.

Like most early gods, Yahweh was a god of war. A warrior (literally, "man of war") he is called in Exod. 15:3, and another frequently used title was "the god of hosts," or armies. But it was as a storm god that he displayed his warlike capacities. By a blast of his nostrils he made the Red Sea do his will (Exod. 15), by a storm he overwhelmed the Canaanites at Megiddo (Judg. 5), with mighty hailstones he slew Israel's foes at Beth-horon (Josh. 10:11) and with thunder he confounded the Philistines at Mizpeh (I Sam. 7:10).

It is evident, then, that Yahweh was originally a storm god, a personification of one of the powers of nature, and hence only one of the several nature gods who were worshipped in that early period. Presently, however, he came to be adopted by some particular tribe as its tribal god; so he became a personal god, and was thought of in human terms, with form, voice, thoughts, emotions and everything else after the order of man.

Since those who adopted him were nomads, he, too, became nomadic and moved about with his tribe in their wanderings. Because he was conceived of in human terms,

a tent was provided for him as his habitation, and he was transported from place to place in a sacred box, or ark. The very existence of tent and ark preclude the possibility of his being anything other than the tutelary god of one particular group of people, whom he accompanied and guarded in their desert wanderings (Num. 10:35ff.). But even nomadic tribes have some focal point. That focal point for the followers of Yahweh varied from time to time; now it was Sinai, now it was Horeb or some other "holy" place; but presently it became fixed at Kadesh, and here Yahweh was definitely localized until the time came for him to accompany his people into Palestine (Num. 20:1; Deut. 1:46).

This, surely, is primitive religion—and its existence is clearly attested in the Old Testament. But the Hebrew people were not content to remain always primitives. There was within them a peculiar urge which was to carry them out of their early Bedouin culture far along the stream of civilization; which, indeed, was to make them the wonder nation of history.

From being a merely tribal god, Yahweh became a national god, and then an international god, the God of the whole world. From being a god into whose presence one came with fear and trembling, he became a father-god. As the Hebrews came to understand their whole environment better, the sense of fear of deity became mellowed by a sense of identity of interest, of comradeship between God and man. God and man were partners in the common project of life. God's interest was man's interest, and man's interest was God's interest. The Hebrews expressed this by the idea of the covenant relationship. As the monarchy developed, the resultant monarchal conception of God put Yahweh rather far away, out of touch

with ordinary folk; but the prophets brought him back to earth again in the idea of the marriage relationship of God and people and the idea of the fatherhood of God.

It was out of these ideas that there developed in course of time much of the deeper and more ethical meaning which the Hebrews came to put into the idea of God, and which in turn became the guide and inspiration of the world.

PAUL AND PETRA

BY ELMER W. K. MOULD

THAT Christianity became established in Petra is well attested by the monuments of the place. The most notable is the inscription in Greek painted on one panel in the back wall of the "Urn tomb," which records the consecration of this tomb "in the time of the most holy Bishop Jason" (A.D. 477).¹ In the Dair temple several small crosses have been scratched on the wall of the niche at the inner end of the large chamber, while the dim traces of a Greek cross painted on this wall immediately above the altar are reported by certain visitors to the place.² The Dair was apparently a Christian sanctuary at one time. In the wâdi leading up to the Dair temple are several Greek inscriptions of Christian origin, which indicate that this was a place of pilgrimage in Christian times. On the wall of the cave often called the "Hermitage," above the Kattar ad-Dair, are Christian symbols and writing. In a rock chamber in the Kattar ad-Dair, Dalman reports a double cross as well as a single cross scratched in the rock.³ In the Farasa temple a light carving on a certain stone is taken by some to be a cross.⁴ Dalman also observed a large cross in a niche in the Sîk, and another cross on a stone lying loose on the ground.⁵ Horsfield found remains of Christian graves in the vicinity of al-Habâs, and Christian lamps on the surface of the ground in the same area. He also reports similar Christian graves in the vicinity of the

¹ All numbered references including this one, will be found at the end of the chapter.

Florentinus tomb.⁶ Dalman remarks upon other remains of debatable Christian interpretation.⁷ Any more notable Christian monuments would in all probability have been obliterated by Moslem fanaticism. Moreover, there is no telling what the future may reveal when Petra is subjected to thoroughgoing and minute excavation and examination.

That Christianity became established in Petra is attested also by references in ancient writings to Christian bishops of Petra in the early centuries, notably in council reports and in Eusebius and Jerome.⁸ So far as the names of such bishops are known, they are as follows. A bishop *Asterius* is mentioned by Athanasius (295-373 A.D.);⁹ he is listed as attending the Council of Sardica in 347, and the Assembly at Seleucia in 359.¹⁰ A bishop *Germanus* is listed as attending the same assembly.¹¹ There was a bishop *Jason* in 447, according to the "Urn tomb" inscription previously noted. A bishop *Joannes* was addressed by the emperor Leo, in 457, as "Joannes Petrensus."¹² Bishop *Theodorus* was present at the Synod of the three Palestines in Jerusalem in 536.¹³ Another bishop named *Athenogenes* is of uncertain date, perhaps toward the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century.¹⁴ In Greek ecclesiastical Notitiae of the fifth and sixth centuries Petra is cited as the metropolis of the episcopal province of Palestina Tertia,¹⁵ and there were bishops even in the villages of Arabia, according to Sozomen,¹⁶ who wrote about 440 A.D. But it is not to be supposed that Christianity wholly displaced other cults at Petra. Sozomen informs us that "there were still pagans in many cities, who contended zealously in behalf of their temples; as, for instance, the inhabitants of Petraea and of Areopolis, in Arabia, etc."¹⁷

When was Christianity introduced at Petra? Acts 2:11 records the presence of "Arabians" in Jerusalem at Pente-

cost. It is possible that these were Nabateans from Petra, who might have carried back home with them information about Christianity. If any of them became converts, they would have constituted the nucleus of a Christian group at Petra, exactly as the "sojourners from Rome" (Acts 2:10) who were present in Jerusalem on the same occasion may have been the first persons to carry Christianity to Rome. This, then, is the earliest possible historical occasion when Christianity could have reached Petra.

Was Christianity introduced at Petra by the Apostle Paul? In writing to the Galatians about the beginnings of his career as a Christian, Paul states that immediately after his conversion, "I went away into Arabia" (1:17). What did he mean by "Arabia"? Paul might have gone straight east from Damascus into the desert, and the term "Arabia" may have meant what is commonly designated as *Arabia Deserta*. The difficulty with this view is in conjecturing any sufficient reason why Paul should have gone into the desert. Again, Paul might have gone, and probably did go, south from Damascus into what is commonly designated *Arabia Petraea*, which included all of the domain held by the Nabateans under Aretas IV, and the Sinai Peninsula as well. The term "Arabia" in the first century would have meant, to the ordinary reader in Galatia or elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world, the Nabatean kingdom.¹⁸ In view of this popular acceptance of the term "Arabia," the Romans used it as the official political designation of the province into which they erected the Nabatean domain when they destroyed Nabatean independence in 105 A.D.

Some interpreters suggest that Paul may simply have gone a little distance south of Damascus into the Hauran—to Bostra, for instance.¹⁹ Other interpreters, and they are not a few, conjecture that Paul may have gone all the

way to Mount Sinai. They think there is some support for this view in Gal. 4:25, where Paul, in allegorizing about Hagar, speaks of "Mount Sinai in Arabia," which statement is taken by such interpreters to imply an acquaintance on Paul's part with this mountain. Some suggest that, incidental to such a visit to Sinai, Paul may have visited Petra.

Which of these views will appeal to one depends upon one's conjecture as to Paul's reason for going away into Arabia. If Paul did on this trip to Arabia visit Petra and preach there with any success, then to him belongs the credit for introducing Christianity in Petra. Such is the view of the present writer. On this view, the beginnings of Christianity in Petra date from immediately after Paul's conversion.

What was Paul's reason for going away into Arabia? The reason most often expressed by commentators is that, following the emotionally exciting mystical experience on his way to Damascus, he wished for a quiet retreat where he might meditate upon the implications of his experience, rethink his theological views, and order his plans for the future. He followed the example of Jesus who, after his baptism, went into the wilderness for forty days. Or, like Elijah, he fled to Sinai in expectation that his own future duty would be made clear to him.

Paul associates his call to be a missionary to the Gentiles with his conversion experience at Damascus.²⁰ In Gal. 1:16, the *ἐν ἐμοί* is customarily rendered by *in* or *to*. "When it was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal his Son in (to) me." The sense of the passage then becomes that God had in view that Paul should be a missionary to the Gentiles, and sent to Paul this mystical revelation experience which so affected him that he immediately "conferred

not with flesh and blood" but "went away into Arabia." The implication is that he was divinely guided to go off into Arabia in order that there he might observe some things which would awaken within him a sense of mission to the Gentiles. On this view we shall have to inquire what Paul would have observed in Arabia, at Petra or in the Hauran cities, that would have stimulated him to undertake a mission to the Gentiles. We are further entitled to ask, What was there that Paul especially needed to think out, that he should have gone away into Arabia only to meditate? It was all crystal clear to him in the very hour of his great experience. He says as much himself in Gal. 1:11f. "The gospel which was preached by me . . . came to me through a revelation of Jesus Christ."

The *ἐν ἐμοί* of Gal. 1:16 may equally well be rendered "by me." The sense of the passage then becomes: When it was the good pleasure of God to reveal his Son to the Gentiles through the agency of Paul, straightway Paul set about doing it by going away into Arabia to preach. The alternative which Paul emphasizes in Gal. 1:17 was between immediately doing his duty as he felt it had been revealed to him in his conversion experience, by starting on a mission to Gentiles, or going to Jerusalem for instruction and commission by a human source.²¹ Paul vigorously affirms that he followed the former course, and his Galatian readers would understand him to mean that he forthwith began preaching. As a matter of fact, Acts 9:20 does represent Paul as immediately starting a preaching mission, although it is in Damascus, as against Paul's own statement that it was in Arabia. The Acts statement is evidence, however, that the interpretation to be put upon Paul's course of action immediately after his conversion is that he began preaching, and not meditating.

Pursuant to this purpose, the most likely place for Paul

to have gone is Petra. For one thing, Paul was a city man. The Acts account of his missionary career reveals him at work in the principal cities of the Mediterranean world. His policy manifestly was to plant Christianity in large cities and leave to others the spreading of the Gospel from such centers into neighboring communities. If we are entitled to assume that Paul pursued this policy from the beginning of his missionary career, then when he "went away into Arabia" he made for the most important city there, namely, Petra.* For another thing, it was Paul's aim "so to preach the gospel, not where Christ was already named, that I might not build upon another man's foundation" (Rom. 15:20). If we are entitled to assume that this point of missionary policy was part of the revelation to Paul, then immediately following his call at Damascus he set out for a place where a foundation had not been laid. This was the view of Chrysostom: "He longed to occupy regions not yet tilled, but lying in a wild state . . . straightway undertook to teach wild barbarians, choosing a life full of battle and labor"²²—although Chrysostom's term, "wild barbarians," is hardly fair to the Petraeans. Acts, of course, says nothing about this trip of Paul into Arabia, and represents him (9:19-25) as immediately preaching in Damascus until, to escape a plot against his life, he left for Jerusalem. Yet from Paul's own statement in Gal. 1:16f., he forthwith went into Arabia and later returned to Damascus. It was doubtless after this return that he did the preaching in Damascus which Acts reports. A strictly literal interpretation of Gal. 1:18 would hold that after this return to Damascus Paul

* By the same token his statement in Gal. 1:21, "I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia," means that he worked in the important cities of these regions, namely, Antioch and Tarsus. And Acts 16:6, written not by but about Paul, says that he was "forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia," which, of course, means Ephesus.

preached there three years. The expression, "then after three years" may, however, mean three years after his conversion. On this interpretation it is possible that Paul spent most or all of the three years in Petra, or elsewhere in Arabia.*

What can be said about religion in Petra as Paul could have observed it? Paul was preëminently interested in religion, and upon his arrival in Petra he would undoubtedly have done and said exactly what Acts attributes to him at a later time in Athens. He could have said to the Petraeans, "In all things I perceive that you are very religious, for I passed along and observed the objects of your worship." The city was filled with altars and temples to the deities Dusares and Allat.

The Nabateans were a Semitic people, and their religion must be understood, of course, upon Semitic antecedents. But what is more important than this to observe is the Hellenization to which the Nabateans of Petra had been subjected. Very likely Hellenism began to filter in at Petra soon after Alexander the Great's conquest, as it did in Syria and Palestine. King Aretas III (c. 85-60 B.C.) was known as the "Philhellene," which very title implies a cordial acceptance and promotion of Hellenism in his reign. The Hellenization of the Petraeans continued apace after his time. Certainly in Paul's time Petra was a Hellenistic city. The Hellenistic character of many of the monuments of Petra is adequately described in such a work as Alexander Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments*.²³

* That Paul should have done any preaching in Damascus can not be construed as inconsistent with his purpose not to build on another's foundation, any more than it was for him to preach in Rome; for it is in his letter to the Romans that he states that this was his policy, and also states that he longed to impart unto the Roman church some spiritual gift (Rom. 1:11), which means preaching, of course. But Paul is careful to state that his visit to Rome is to be merely incidental to his proposed missionary trip to Spain.

The Hellenistic adaptations made by the Nabatean cult of Dusares and Allat are important to observe. Allat's title was "Mother of the gods" and she was the mother of Dusares. The pair represent an Arabian counterpart of the Babylonian Ishtar and Tammuz. As son of the virgin earth-goddess, Dusares' birth was celebrated in December by the Dusarean games (*actia dusaria*) at Petra and in the Hauran cities of Bostra and Adraa, adaptations of the spring festivities at Babylon which celebrated the death and resurrection of Marduk. Dusares and Allat therefore are the primitive Semitic vegetation-goddess and her son.²⁴

Dusares was represented by a four-cornered block-stone. Allat appears also to have been worshipped as a four-sided stone.²⁵ Certain coins of the Roman period show the sacred *baetyl* or stone pillar of Dusares.²⁶ Strabo represents the Nabateans as sun-worshippers: "They honor the sun, setting up an altar in the house, making libation on it daily, and using frankincense."²⁷ All of which attests Dusares as a sun-god and patron of fertility.

By the Greeks and Romans Dusares was identified with Dionysus, or Bacchus.²⁸ Dusares is depicted as a patron of the vine in a statue of him found in the Hauran. The statue and certain Nabatean coins portray Dusares holding the cornucopia and the patera.²⁹ This is the Hellenized Dusares of the Petra of Paul's time. Dusares is Dionysus.³⁰

The chief ancient source of information about the Dusares cult is Epiphanius (c. 315-403 A.D.), a Christian bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, who was born and educated in Palestine. What he writes pertains immediately to fourth century practices at Petra, but behind such beliefs and practices a long antiquity is reasonably to be postulated, for the rites and organization of a movement

come into being before the literature which depicts them. Epiphanius states that at Petra on the night of December 24-25 a feast of Dusares is celebrated with a ceremony identical with the ceremony carried out on the same occasion at the Korion in Alexandria, which Epiphanius describes in some detail.³¹ The latter festival celebrates the virgin Kore's giving birth to Aion. Epiphanius says that in the idol temple at Petra they sing hymns to the virgin whom they call Chaamou and to Dusares who was born of her. He thus equates Dusares with Aion, who, in other Greek writings, appears to be Dionysus. The whole is ably discussed by Macchioro, who points out, with exhaustive and detailed notation of the ancient sources,³² that "the chief god of the Nabateans either was derived from Zagreus (= Dionysus) or, as is more probable, had been assimilated to him even to the point of being confused with him." That is to say, the religion of the Nabateans had been assimilated to Orphism. Now Orphism was, as Macchioro further points out, widely diffused in the first century in Palestine itself, in Phoenicia and in Asia Minor, particularly in Tarsus, where Paul was born and where he labored for a number of years after quitting Damascus,³³ and of course it was present in Greece, where it originated.

In his *From Orpheus to Paul*,³⁴ Macchioro examines the similarities between the Orphic theology and Paul's theology. The reader is referred to Macchioro's writings for details of the argument, which need not be reproduced here. The significance for our purpose is that Orphism constituted the religious background of the peoples to whom Paul tried to interpret Christ from the time he began his missionary activity by going away into Arabia, presumably Petra, until he had preached the Gospel even unto Illyricum.

Herein, then, lies the significance of Petra for Paul. In

his own native Tarsus he knew about Orphism through the cult of Sandan. It is inconceivable that a man as intellectually curious about religion as Paul should have been ignorant of what was in vogue religiously in his own home town. He understood it, though as an ardent Pharisee in Tarsus he did not approve it any more than he approved Christianity prior to his conversion. What Paul did see in Tarsus prior to his conversion was that the choice was either Judaism or Hellenism. Prior to his conversion, Paul chose Judaism and kicked against the goads of Hellenism. What Paul came to see upon his conversion was that it was not a matter of either-or, but both-and. When in the ardor of his conversion he went away into Arabia to preach—at Petra, as we conjecture—he met a type of religious thinking which he perfectly well understood. Perhaps Paul was surprised to find Orphism at Petra. At any rate, he would have recognized it, and in preaching Christ to the Petraeans he would have had his first experience in fashioning the theology which later came to written expression in his letters.

In writing to the Galatians Paul is chiefly concerned, in chap. 1, to emphasize the independence of his gospel from the Jewish Christianity of Jerusalem; in other words, to affirm that his gospel was a Hellenistic Christian gospel from the start. What we have had to say about Paul's possible connection with Petra enables us to see how this is so, and it has some bearing upon the important problem of how Christianity became a Gentile cult.

One who has visited Petra and come under the spell of the beauty of that marvelous monument, the Khazneh, cannot but speculate as to whether it was there in Paul's time, and what, if anything, he may have had to do with it. Just when the Khazneh was built and for what purpose, is a matter on which the interpreters of Petra are all at

variance. Domaszewski took telephotographs of the images in the upper towers of the temple façade and conjectured that the figure in the central panel was the goddess Isis, and on the ground that the Roman emperor Hadrian included Egyptian deities in his pantheon, Domaszewski holds that the Khazneh was probably constructed in Hadrian's time, *c.* 131 A.D.³⁵ Kennedy thinks that "on general grounds, perhaps, the date of Hadrian would appear more likely to be too early than too late."³⁶ Dalman maintains that its style is Hellenistic and not Roman, and therefore it is to be dated before 105 A.D. He holds that it is a "temple-tomb" of one of the later Nabatean kings, either Aretas IV (9 B.C.-40 A.D.) or, more probably, Rabel II (71-105 A.D.), last king of the Nabateans.³⁷ Robinson thinks it was the intended tomb of Aretas IV, and therefore dates it *c.* 30-40 A.D.³⁸

The most likely of all interpretations of the Khazneh is that advanced by Langdon, who holds that it is the temple of the *Tyche** of the city, and the image in the upper central panel is a statue of Allat "figured as the guardian Fortuna of her city."³⁹ This accounts for the location of the temple at the very entrance to Petra. Langdon points out that Allat was also identified with the Greek *Tyche*, and more especially with the *Tyche* of Antioch, and that this type of mother-goddess was characterized by the mural crown and cornucopia, and is so represented on coins found at Petra and elsewhere.

Robinson well says that the Khazneh was the work of someone thoroughly familiar with Hellenistic art and civilization, and that almost any king of the Nabateans might have imported foreign architects and even foreign workmen to build such an imposing structure, as Solomon

* From the time of Alexander the Great onward, the chief goddess of any Semitic city was known as the *Tyche* of the city.

did when he built the Jerusalem Temple.⁴⁰ So far as we can infer, the one Nabatean king who appears to have been most enamoured of Hellenistic culture was Aretas the Philhellene (85-60 B.C.), and the present writer regards him as most likely the one responsible for the Khazneh. The next best guess is Aretas IV, as Robinson suggests, but not for the reason that Robinson gives. Aretas would have wished to build, not an imposing tomb for himself, but rather a magnificent temple for the mother-goddess, guardian of the city; for this Aretas IV was styled "Philopatris," lover of his native land, and appears to have combined in his interests both patriotism and culture.

Either of the dates proposed in the preceding paragraph would mean that the Khazneh was there in Paul's time, and on Langdon's view of the purpose of the temple, an interesting suggestion offers itself in explanation of a certain incident in Paul's career. At a considerably later time Paul got into trouble at Ephesus (Acts 19) which led to his probable imprisonment there, and certainly to his departure from the city. The whole uproar related to the tutelary deity of Ephesus, the mother-goddess Artemis. One wonders whether something analogous happened to Paul at Petra. Did Paul say anything against Allat? If he did, we can conjecture what it might have been. Paul regarded sex immorality as the paramount vice,⁴¹ and licentiousness accompanied the boisterous festivals of Allat, as ancient writers testify.⁴² Did Paul's preaching woo his converts away from that devotion to the guardian mistress of the rock city, which an ardent patriot like Aretas IV would not brook? As Acts portrays Paul's missionary career, he left places not once or twice because of the disturbances that were occasioned by his preaching. Did he leave Petra for a like reason?

Perhaps Paul did escape from the city; but Aretas never

forgot the man or his resolve to punish him, and when later Damascus came under Aretas' sway, which happened most probably after Tiberius' death in 37 A.D.,* Aretas ordered the ethnarch at Damascus to arrest Paul. Paul himself reports the fact in II Cor. 11:32: "In Damascus the ethnarch under Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes in order to take me." Paul remembered it as one of the laughable experiences of his life; for it could only have been a wholesome sense of humor that prompted him, after rehearsing to the Corinthians the long list of sufferings which had attended his missionary career, to relieve the tension of his readers by adding, as an intentional anti-climax, the reference to Aretas and its amusing sequel. "Through a window was I let down in a basket by the wall, and escaped his hands."

* The evidence of coins reveals that Damascus was in Roman possession up to 34 A.D., and again in 62 A.D. There are no Roman coins for the interval between these dates, *i.e.*, none bearing the image of Caligula or Claudius. Suetonius (*Caligula*, xvi) intimates that Caligula "restored kings." According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, xviii, vi, 10) one of the first acts of Caligula as emperor was to give the tetrarchy of Philip to Agrippa. Perhaps, while thus readjusting the eastern frontier of his empire after the death of Tiberius, Caligula made Aretas IV responsible for Damascus; for the city had once previously belonged to the Nabateans.

NOTES

¹ The full inscription is given in R. E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Strassburg, 1904, I, 393, no. 772.

² Kinnear, Roberts *et al.*, cited in Brünnow and Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 331. So also George L. Robinson, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization*, New York, 1930, p. 102.

³ G. H. Dalman, *Neue-Petraforschungen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 26. In his *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 98, Dalman enumerates the evidences of Christianity at Petra which he observed.

⁴ A photograph of it is given by Dalman, *Petra*, p. 196.

⁵ *Neue-Petraforschungen*, p. 26.

⁶ George Horsfield and Agnes Conway, "Historical and Topographical Notes on Edom; with an Account of the First Excavations at Petra," *Geographical Journal*, LXXVI, 5 (Nov., 1930), p. 382.

⁷ *Neue-Petraforschungen*, p. 26.

⁸ The information has been assembled and tabulated by R. P. F. Michaelis Le Quien in *Oriens Christianus*, Paris, 1740, III, 725f.

⁹ *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 10.

¹⁰ *Oriens Christ.*, III, 725.

¹¹ Cf. Hadrian Reland, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, Nüremberg, 1714, p. 933.

¹² *Oriens Christ.*, III, 726.

¹³ *Ibid.* Also Reland, *op. cit.*, p. 933.

¹⁴ *Oriens Christ.*, III, 726.

¹⁵ Cf. list of bishoprics, based on Excerpta from MS in the Vatican, in Reland, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-214.

¹⁶ VII, 19.

¹⁷ VII, 15.

¹⁸ So Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of Paul*, 2d ed., London, 1914, p. 321.

¹⁹ So Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Johannes Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, Göttingen, 1917, p. 144.

²⁰ Gal. 1:16; cf. Acts 9:15; 22:21; 26:17.

²¹ So Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 320f.

²² *Commentary on Galatians*, sub 1:17.

²³ London, 1925, pp. 51-61.

²⁴ So S. H. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, Boston, 1931, p. 17; G. A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, Philadelphia, 1934, p. 214; cf. Cumont, "Dusares," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, which gives bibliography.

²⁵ Cf. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ XVI, 4, 26.

²⁸ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, V, 7.

²⁹ Cf. Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 17f.

³⁰ So Hesychius in *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, Jena, 1864, c. 437; cited by Alois Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna, 1907, II, 161.

³¹ *Panarion haer.*, 51, 22, 8-11, ed. Holl, ii Leipzig, 1922, pp. 285-287. The passage in translation is quoted in full by J. G. Machen, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, New York, 1930, p. 346; also by Vittorio Macchiore, "Orphism and Paulinism," *Journal of Religion*, VII. no. 3 (July, 1928), pp. 350f.

³² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 350-356.

³³ Gal. 1:21; cf. Acts 9:30; 11:25.

³⁴ New York, 1930, pp. 186-204.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 180-186.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

³⁷ *Neue-Petraforschungen*, pp. 76-78.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 19f; so also M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 43f.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁴¹ Cf. Gal. 5:19; I Cor. 5:1; 6:13,18; 7:2; 10:8; II Cor. 12:21.

⁴² Ephraem the Syrian, *Opera*, II, 457E, 458, 459C; Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 51; Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, C. 25; Isaac of Antioch (in Bickel's ed., p. 244, l. 449f), listed in *Hebraica*, X, 58ff. Cf. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

THE CASE FOR SECOND PETER

BY BENJAMIN L. OLMSTEAD

SECOND PETER has somewhat less evidence for its authenticity and canonicity than has any other book of the New Testament. But this does not prove that it is spurious. Where there are varying degrees of evidence, some one book inevitably will have the least. II Peter was finally included in the canon, whereas a mass of spurious literature, including some in the name of Peter, was rejected.

Let us first consider what the epistle claims for itself. It begins with the assertion that Peter is the author: "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained a like precious faith with us."* In 1:14 the writer speaks of his approaching death, "even as our Lord Jesus Christ signified unto me." If Peter was the author, he could not have referred to the prediction in John 21:18, for the Gospel of John was not yet written. Most emphatic of all is his claim to have been an eye-witness of Christ's majesty on the Mount of Transfiguration (1:16-18). Again, the writer professes to have composed a previous epistle (3:1) which, whether II Peter is genuine or not, refers to an epistle by Peter. Finally, he speaks of "our beloved brother Paul," indicating thereby that Paul was his contemporary and friend.

So prominent is the writer's claim to be Peter that some have said that these very passages indicate a desire on the part of a spurious author to pose as Peter. Doubtless a

* Quotations of Scripture are from the American Standard Version.

forger might wish to pose as Peter, but there is nothing in these passages which the apostle himself could not naturally have written. I Peter also begins with a statement of authorship; and a forger would probably have followed the form of expression found there, and would not have used the words "Simon" or "servant." If Peter had written a former epistle to the same people, there is nothing unnatural in referring to it. Paul did the same thing. If the writer was a friend of Paul, why not mention him? Paul mentioned Peter frequently. If Peter was growing old and knew that martyrdom must soon be his lot, he might well refer to this. As regards his testimony to the Transfiguration, such witnessing to Christ's glory and deity is exactly in accord with the witnessing function of an apostle which Peter stressed in his reported addresses (cf. Acts 2:32; 3:15; 4:20; 10:39).

Now it is apparent that II Peter was written either by Peter or by someone who falsely professed to be Peter. There seems to be no place for a half-way position. It is not the case of an apocalyptic book pseudonymously written in accordance with some current literary custom; for, though II Peter has a strong prophetic element, it is not an apocalypse. The writer, if he was not Peter, was a forger who deliberately and repeatedly stated what was not true. For example, he said concerning the voice on the Mount of Transfiguration, "And this voice we ourselves heard borne out of heaven when we were with him in the holy mount" (1:18). If the writer did not hear that voice, he falsified.

The question then arises whether a forger who was guilty of such deception could have written a book like II Peter. In this book stress is laid upon holy living. In the first chapter the author urges the diligent practice of various Christian virtues. In the second chapter he warns against false teachers and the sins of the flesh which accom-

pany an acceptance of their doctrines. In the third chapter he urges upon his readers the duty of holy living, that they may be found at Christ's coming "without spot and blameless in his sight."

Now it seems to us almost incredible that a forger should thus have stressed holiness of life. In so doing he would have condemned himself. We think of the words of Paul: "Thou therefore that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" And we might add, Thou that sayest a man should live holily, dost thou tell falsehoods?

Holiness of life was not stressed in other spurious books, just as it was not stressed by the "false prophets" of the Old Testament. In New Testament apocryphal literature it was curiosity and a love of the marvelous to which an appeal was usually made, and often such literature had as its chief purpose the dissemination of heretical or fantastic ideas. But such motives could not have impelled a forger to write II Peter. There is nothing heretical in the epistle; no fantastic interpretations of Scripture are found therein; no new information is given concerning Peter or anyone else; there are no bizarre accounts such as characterize the *Apocalypse of Peter* and much other spurious literature. To say that someone forged this book in order to warn against the sins of the flesh and to impress the necessity of holy living, is to assume a motive utterly different from that behind other forgeries.

But this is not all. The general worth and spiritual value of II Peter are vastly greater than in the case of any early Christian writing which we find after the first century, spurious or genuine. The first chapter is one of the richest and most helpful in any of the New Testament epistles. In contrast with this is the worthlessness of *all* writings that falsely purport to be by apostles. They are interest-

ing to us as literary curiosities; but, aside from canonical material which a few of them borrow, they are utterly without spiritual value. If some other forged document could be found which even remotely compared with II Peter in value, this would go a long way toward making plausible the theory that this epistle is also a forgery; but the absence of any such book counts heavily in favor of the genuineness of II Peter. Indeed, the epistle as a whole is characterized by a dignity of expression and an exalted spiritual fervor which stamp it as an inspired work, far removed from the tameness and pettiness and foolishness of early spurious documents.

Even the writings of Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp, which are genuine productions by companions of apostles, are, in spite of some fine passages which they contain, on a much lower level than the canonical books of the New Testament. In point of value, these are separated from the writings of the second century by a great gulf. For II Peter to be a second century production, as is believed by those who consider it a forgery, would be a startling anachronism.

Objection to the authenticity of II Peter is made on the ground that the apparent prediction of "mockers" in the last days (3:3f.) is not really a prediction at all, but a statement of what has already occurred, in the guise of a prediction. We can see little excuse for such an objection. It is probable that some scoffers had already arisen before Peter's death, and with the help of the Spirit he perceived that more of these would arise. Why deny the possibility of this? In his farewell address to the elders of Ephesus, Paul makes a definite prediction concerning "grievous wolves" which will later arise in that church (Acts 20:29f.), a prediction which we learn from the Book of the

Revelation (2:2) was actually fulfilled. Are we arbitrarily to deny that Peter had an equal capacity to predict?*

It is often said that the implication in 3:16 that Paul's epistles are to be classed as Scripture evidences a second-century viewpoint, after the canonization of the New Testament writings had made considerable progress. The passage reads as follows:

Even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given to him, wrote unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstedfast wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction.

An English scholar asserts that this is something that Peter *could not* have said; a liberal American scholar, in referring to this same passage, declares that the epistle ascribed to Peter "is all the more likely to be authentic because it is not particularly complimentary to Paul."† Thus the same sentence is to one scholar the supreme proof that Peter did not write the book, and to another scholar proof that he did!

It does seem as though a contemporary would be more likely to refer to the difficulties in Paul's epistles in the language which we find here than would a second-century author with the later tendency to glorify the apostles and their writings. On the other hand, it is true that Peter's lifetime seems rather early for Paul's writings to be thought of as sacred Scripture, as is apparently implied in this passage. However, it would be one thing to assert

* In this connection the expression, "From the day that the fathers fell asleep" (3:4) has been held by some to mean the fathers in the Christian church, and it is said that this betrays the late date of the epistle. But here "the fathers" are the ancient *Hebrew* worthies; for the writer had in mind, as we see from the latter part of the verse, the whole period "from the beginning of the creation" (cf. Rom. 9:5; Heb. 1:1).

† Elwood Worcester, *Was Jesus an Historical Person?* p. 44.

point-blank that Paul's writings are Scripture, and quite another thing to imply it in the indirect way in which the author does here. Peter might have made the implication because in the back of his mind was the realization that Paul's writings had those authoritative qualities which made them Scripture, even though he (Peter) did not formally think of them as such. The way in which Clement of Rome (c. 95 A.D.) and Ignatius and Polycarp used and referred to Paul's epistles shows that they surely regarded them as authoritative, although it was too early to think of them formally as Scripture. Paul claimed that his gospel and his writings were authoritative, and there is every reason for believing that Peter accepted them as such. Paul's epistles were already circulated and read in churches. Substantially, though not formally, they already had a place as Scripture in a considerable number of churches. Since they were read and appealed to along with the Old Testament, no stretch of imagination is needed to account for their being mentioned in our epistle along with the Old Testament.

The ease with which one can imply more than he would directly state is well illustrated by the way in which Eusebius (*Church History*, III iii, 1.) uses substantially the same expression, "the other scriptures," when discussing II Peter. He says, "We have learned that this extant second epistle does not belong to the canon; yet as it has appeared profitable to many, it has been used with the other scriptures." We have yet to hear any critic suggest that Eusebius must have regarded II Peter as canonical because he implies this in using the expression, "the other scriptures." Then why insist that the author of II Peter must have regarded Paul's epistles as canonical when he says the same thing?

In a recent lecture attacking the authenticity of II Peter,

stress was laid on the argument from silence; we were told that if the epistle was really by Peter there would have been more references to events in the life of Christ, with which Peter was so familiar. How much do such critics think the author could have said in a little epistle of sixty-one verses? Yet when the author does bear witness in majestic language to a great event in the life of Christ (the Transfiguration) we are told that this reveals a disposition on the part of some forger to pose as Peter! Parenthetically, we do not believe that any forger would have been capable of writing the dignified and exalted description in chapter 1:16ff., and in proof of this we would cite the description of the same scene in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, with its tame talk and its information about the curly hair of Moses and Elijah.

The most serious objection to the Petrine authorship of the epistle is the difference in style between it and I Peter, which is well attested and generally accepted as genuine. I Peter is written in smooth, flowing Greek, whereas II Peter is more rhetorical and uses expressions that are comparatively harsh. Yet while this is true, there are many points of similarity between the two epistles, and able critics have declared that the differences have been exaggerated. Marcus Dods says, "Too much has been made of the difference in style between the first and second epistles. The resemblances are much more striking."* J. B. Mayor declares, "There can be no doubt that the style of I Peter is, on the whole, clearer and simpler than that of II Peter, but there is not that chasm between them which some would try to make out."†

Jerome believed that the differences in style were due

* Marcus Dods, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 210.

† J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter*, p. xiv.

to the use of different "interpreters" or amanuenses; and this, essentially, has been the view of many scholars. In the first epistle we are told, "By Silvanus, our faithful brother as I account him, I have written unto you." In the second epistle there is no mention of any amanuensis. If Peter wrote the second epistle himself, whereas he was assisted by Silas in writing the first, differences in style would naturally appear, their extent depending upon the extent of Silas' assistance. Also, to a considerable degree the dissimilarities may be accounted for by the marked difference in the purpose and general character of the two letters, and accordingly in the moods of the writer.

However, along with the differences there are striking resemblances in words and phrases, in sentence structure, and in thought. Commentators have listed characteristic words and phrases found in both epistles which strongly suggest a common authorship. Peculiar words and expressions which occur both in II Peter and in Peter's speeches as recorded in the Acts have also been pointed out. Mayor calls attention to numerous grammatical similarities between the two books, and Bigg thinks that the habit of repeating words and phrases, which characterizes both books, is a matter of great importance in suggesting a common authorship.*

There are also striking resemblances in thought. As Marcus Dods said, "The keynote of both epistles is holiness." Not only are there earnest exhortations to holy living in both, but in both the word "holy" is applied to various things as is done nowhere else in the New Testament. In I Peter we find "holy priesthood," "holy nation," "holy women," and in II Peter, "holy mount," "holy men," "holy commandment," "holy prophets," and "holy conver-

* Charles Bigg, in *International Critical Commentary*, *ad loc.*

sation." Furthermore, in both epistles prophecy is discussed. In both, Christians are spoken of as "elect" and "called." In both are repeated allusions to fleshly lusts. And the one reference to the atonement in II Peter—"the Master that bought them" (2:1)—uses the same figure of purchase which is developed in I Peter 1:18f.

Another striking similarity is the teaching of both epistles that the second coming of Christ will be coincident with the end of the world. This doctrine is abundantly implied in what Christ and Paul say about the judgment, with its meting out of rewards and punishments, taking place at his coming; but nowhere is this idea so explicitly stated as it is in these two epistles. In I Peter 4:7 we read that the end "of all things" is at hand (cf. the return of the chief Shepherd in 5:4), because of which the readers are urged to be sober unto prayer and fervent in love. In II Peter 3:10 we read, "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up." And as in the first epistle, this statement concerning the coming end is immediately followed by exhortations to godly living, that men may be prepared therefor.

The relation of II Peter to Jude has an important bearing upon the problem of its authenticity. A comparison of II Peter 2:1-3:2 with Jude 4-18 reveals the fact that for the most part the same thoughts are given in both passages, and in the same order. Either the author of II Peter borrowed from Jude, or Jude borrowed from II Peter. Those who deny the authenticity of II Peter say that the author borrowed from Jude. This position is necessary if II Peter is to be dated in the second century. But there are strong

arguments for the priority of II Peter, which is maintained by able scholars.

At once we are struck by the fact that in his little epistle Jude does other borrowing, which shows that he is in a borrowing mood. Verses 14 and 15 are quoted from the *Book of Enoch*, and the story of Michael contending with the devil is from the *Assumption of Moses*. He who would borrow even from pseudepigrapha might very readily borrow from the apostle Peter. On the other hand, in II Peter there are fewer allusions than usual to the Old Testament or to any other writings, and there is only one short quotation (2:22).

Another general consideration in favor of the priority of II Peter is that the long section which resembles Jude follows naturally upon the verses that precede it and leads naturally to the verses that follow it. From a discussion of prophecy in the days of old, the author passes on to the thought of false prophets who have arisen and to false prophets who will arise. There is no artificial construction which even remotely suggests that any borrowed material has been inserted.

But most convincing of all is the fact that there are certain specific passages in Jude which surely look as though they had been borrowed from II Peter, rather than the reverse. Of these the most important is Jude 17-19: "But ye, beloved, remember ye the words which have been spoken before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; that they said to you, In the last time there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts. These are they who make separations, sensual, having not the Spirit."

Here Jude refers to a previous apostolic prediction which had been made, a prediction which in his own time was already being fulfilled. This prediction is exactly what we find in II Peter 3:3: "Knowing this first, that in

the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own lusts . . .” It seems so evident that Jude is quoting the prediction in II Peter, and that his own viewpoint is later, that Zahn expresses weariness over the evasions of interpreters and declares that if II Peter is a second-century forgery, then it is necessary to assume that the apostolic document quoted by Jude is lost and that II Peter is a later caricature substituted for it.* Indeed, Mayor, who assumes the priority of Jude, says that the prophecy of this mocking has not come down to us.† But when we do have a prophecy of this mocking in II Peter, why not accept it at its face value as an apostolic prediction, rather than as a late pretense at prediction, thus making necessary the assumption that the original prediction is lost?‡

The external evidence for II Peter is meager, and it would seem that this little book did not get into circulation and become widely known for some time. That the epistle existed and was known to a greater or less extent from about the year 200, none will question. It was included in the Egyptian versions of the third century, and was used by Origen and Firmilian. Origen says, “Peter . . . has left one acknowledged epistle; perhaps also a second, but this is disputed.”|| Its genuineness and canonicity were more or less disputed until the end of the fourth century, and in Syria until even later, since it was not in the Peshito version. The reasons given for doubting its genuineness were its difference in style from I Peter

* Th. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (English translation), II, 265ff.

† J. B. Mayor, Notes on Jude 18 in the *Expositor's Greek Bible*.

‡ For an examination of other passages that indicate borrowing by Jude, see Bigg, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-234; also Marcus Dods on II Peter in the *Standard Bible Dictionary*.

|| Eusebius, *Church History*, VI, xxv, 8.

(Jerome alone mentions this) and the fact that it was not quoted by the ancient elders. In one place Eusebius puts it on a level with James, Jude and II and III John, as disputed, yet recognized by "the many"—apparently the majority of the church.* Jerome believed it to be authentic, and included it in the Vulgate.

In spite of occasional statements to the contrary, there are not wanting evidences of the existence of II Peter in the second century. Near the close of this century it was almost certainly known to Clement of Alexandria, and strong evidence indicates that long before this the author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* had read it.† There is an unquestionable literary connection between II Peter and this apocalypse, which was probably written between 120 and 140 A.D. The part of the book which is extant begins with the broken sentence, ". . . many of them will be false prophets, and will teach divers ways and doctrines of perdition; but these will become sons of perdition"—compare II Peter 2:1. Then we have brief visions of the Transfiguration scene and of heaven, followed by a fantastic vision of hell, in which different classes of sinners undergo various gruesome forms of punishment. The *Apocalypse* shows marked affinities with Vergil's *Aeneid*, as well as with Jewish pseudepigrapha.

The natural explanation of similarities between this document and II Peter is that the author of the *Apocalypse* was familiar with the epistle; but those who claim that II Peter must be late will not have it so. They say that its author borrowed from the *Apocalypse*, or some, as Harnack, feeling that this will not quite do, say that they were both from the same hand. But if two works so utterly diverse in style, subject matter and religious value as II

* *Ibid.*, III, xxv, 3.

† This apocalypse is available in English in the supplementary volume (ix) of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*.

Peter is from the *Apocalypse* can be from the same hand, then, surely, there can be no objection to saying that I Peter and II Peter are from the same hand.

There is evidence of acquaintance with II Peter in the *Acts of Peter*, which, though originally written in Greek in the second century, is now extant only in a later Latin translation. In it are found these words: "Our Lord desiring me to see his majesty in the holy mountain . . . and I heard his voice." Here is a plain allusion to II Peter 1:16-18. What is to be done with this by those who make II Peter late? The answer is simple—Cast it out as an interpolation by the translator! But why should we be asked to believe in the interpolation theory when no evidence whatever for it is produced? Similarly in Rufinus' Latin translation of the Clementine *Recognitions* (c. 170 A.D.) there is a passage which Chase admits is taken from II Peter 2:19; but here, too, he thinks that an interpolation must have been inserted.

There are a considerable number of expressions in second-century writings, even as early as the Apostolic Fathers, which seem on the surface to echo II Peter, and which have convinced not only theologians like Warfield, but keen critics like Zahn and Spitta, that some at least of these writers knew II Peter. Since we are seeking the truth wherever it leads, we welcome every piece of evidence that Chase produces to explain how these seeming allusions could have arisen without dependence on this epistle.* Nevertheless, we feel that in all probability some of these expressions do go back to II Peter, and that attempting to rule them all out of court exhibits an unscholarly bias, just as does ruling out the evidence already cited on the theory that it has been interpolated. We have

* F. H. Chase, on II Peter, in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.

space, however, to call attention to only one of these passages.

In the so-called *Second Clement*, which was written in the first half of the second century, occurs the following: "Know ye that the day of judgment draweth nigh like a burning oven, and certain of the heavens and all the earth will melt, like lead melting in fire; and then the hidden and open works of men will be made known." This is similar to II Peter 3:10, with "the day of judgment" perhaps borrowed from 2:9. The last part, especially, seems to be a paraphrase of the Greek words in II Peter which mean literally, "The earth and the works that are therein shall be found out" (cf. R.V. margin). For the earth and the works therein to be "found out," or "discovered," does not seem to make sense, but this is the reading of the oldest manuscripts. The author of Second Clement evidently had this reading before him and tried to make sense of it by paraphrasing it "The . . . works of men will be made known."

Strachan, in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, although not admitting the genuineness of II Peter, says that "the evidence of the second century would suggest a date for the epistle not much later than the first decade." But if II Peter was in existence by about the first decade (bringing us back to the period of the Apostolic Fathers) then a very large part of what has been said against its genuineness is useless talk. For it has been the supposed lack of second-century evidence for its existence and the supposed anachronisms betraying an historical position in the latter part of the second century (such as the reference to Paul's epistles) that have been the chief arguments urged against its genuineness. If it turns out that the epistle was in existence early in the second century, then about all that can be produced to suggest spurious

authorship is its divergence in style from I Peter. And if, as we confidently believe, Jude quotes from II Peter, then Jude becomes external evidence for its existence almost as far back as the lifetime of Peter himself. One thing is sure; before we discount and cast out as the work of a pretender the helpful message found in this book, we shall require more evidence than has thus far been produced in proof of its alleged spuriousness.

THE THIRD YEAR OF JEHOIAKIM

BY ALBERTUS PIETERS

IN THE first verse of the first chapter of the book of Daniel we read that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, invaded Palestine "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah."

Many eminent scholars, however, say that this statement is not true; that, indeed, it is so clearly false as to impeach the historicity of the book in which it occurs. This view is upheld by Adolf Kamphausen in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, by Edward L. Curtis in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, by Eduard Koenig in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, by R. H. Charles and Charles C. Torrey in the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and in many commentaries, such as those of A. A. Bevan, F. W. Farrar (in the *Expositor's Bible*), and L. E. Binns (in Bishop Gore's *New Commentary*). S. R. Driver, in the *Cambridge Bible*, does not speak so positively as the other critics who have been named, but he considers such an invasion at that time to be "at least doubtful." Although opposed by conservative scholars, this may be said to be the prevailing view at the present time, as it has been for the past forty years.

The writer, however, believes that the key to the problem is to be found in the difference between the Babylonian and Palestinian methods of reckoning regnal years; that this solution finds strong support in a hitherto neglected and misunderstood passage in the book of Jeremiah; that when correctly interpreted, the assertion of Daniel 1:1 is

in complete harmony with the known course of events, and that, far from impeaching the historicity of the book, the first verse of Daniel tends to confirm its claim to be a document originating in Babylon and during the Babylonian period of Jewish history.

By those who assume that the "third year" of Jehoiakim is to be reckoned according to the same method as the regnal years of other kings in the Old Testament, the following considerations are said to be fatal to the historicity of the statement in question.

(1) Nothing is said of such an invasion of Palestine in the historical books of the Old Testament or in the prophecies of Jeremiah (cf. 46:2).

(2) Jeremiah (25:1, 8-14) in the fourth year of Jehoiakim speaks of the Chaldeans as if they had not yet come.

(3) Since the battle of Carchemish took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (605 B.C.), it is impossible that Nebuchadnezzar should have invaded Palestine the previous year, leaving an unbeaten Egyptian army behind him.

(4) If Jehoiakim began to pay tribute to Babylon in his third year, and rebelled three years later (II Kings 24:1), it is incredible that Nebuchadnezzar did not move against him before the eleventh year of Jehoiakim, thus leaving a rebellious vassal in peace for five years.

To these arguments conservative scholars have made various replies, only one of which will be discussed in this paper, because that one seems the correct and sufficient answer, namely, that the "third year" of Jehoiakim in Dan. 1:1 is *the same year* as the "fourth year" of Jehoiakim in Jer. 25:1 and 46:2, the former being reckoned according to the Babylonian and the latter according to the Palestinian method of computing the years of the king's reign.

In both systems the year in which a king died was num-

bered as one of the years of his reign; but in Palestine the rest of that year was called the "first year" of his successor, while in Babylonia it was called the "year of the accession" of the new king, and the following calendar year was designated as his "first year."

In Palestine, therefore, the year in which a king died had two designating numbers; it was such and such a year of the reign of the deceased monarch, and it was also the "first year" of his successor. (It is interesting to note that the same way of reckoning is followed in Japan to this day.) Thus, if we read of a certain king of Judah that he reigned twenty-five years, his son ten years, and his grandson fifteen years, the whole period is, not fifty, but only forty-eight years. This method of reckoning is a constant pitfall for the student of Biblical chronology.

In the Babylonian system, on the other hand, the entire period between two accessions can be accurately determined by adding up the regnal years, no matter how many reigns are included in the computation. It follows that the first year of any king's reign, when reckoned according to the Palestinian system, would be his accession year in Babylon; his second year according to the Palestinian reckoning would be his first year according to the Babylonian, and so on. Thus the fourth year of Jehoiakim by the Palestinian computation is his third year by the Babylonian.

That there was such a difference between the two calendars is no new discovery. George Smith, the great archaeologist and author of *Assyrian Discoveries*, called attention to it in 1875 in the following passage:

"It is a curious fact that the kings of Assyria and Babylonia did not, in general, begin to count the years of their reign until the commencement of the new year following their accession. During the remainder of the year in which

they ascended the throne, documents were dated: 'In the year of the accession to the kingdom of So and So,' and the first year of the reign commenced with the next New Year's Day, the first of the month Nisan; for instance: 'City of Babylon, month Elul, 16th day, in the year of the accession to the kingdom of Nergalsharezer, king of Babylon' " (p. 386).

Robert Dick Wilson, in his *Studies in the Book of Daniel*, draws the same conclusion from the tablets of the last year of King Nebuchadnezzar. That this is the true solution of the problem presented by Dan. 1:1 is held by John Kennedy in his *Book of Daniel*. It is also mentioned by J. E. H. Thomson in the *Pulpit Commentary*, though no stress is laid upon it there.

If the "third year" of Jehoiakim is thus to be identified with his "fourth year" in the historical books of the Old Testament and in Jeremiah, it is in order to ask whether traces of the Babylonian system of reckoning are to be found anywhere else in the Old Testament except in the passage which is now under discussion. There seem to be at least three such confirmatory passages.

The first is in the book of Daniel itself. In 1:5 we read that a three years' course of training is appointed to Daniel and his three friends by King Nebuchadnezzar, and in 1:18 that this period was duly completed. Yet in the following chapter we discover that in the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar the young men are no longer neophytes in training, but full members of the guild of wise men. How is this apparent discrepancy to be explained? The "three years," according to the ordinary scriptural *usus loquendi*, need not be three full years, but they must at least include parts of three different calendar years, which could not be the case if the young men were appointed neophytes in

the first year of Nebuchadnezzar and had already finished their course in his second year, both years being reckoned by ordinary Palestinian count. If, however, we assume the use of what we have just seen to be the Babylonian system of reckoning, the confusion immediately disappears. The young men were appointed in the "accession year" of Nebuchadnezzar, continued their studies during the remainder of that year and also during his official "first" year, and completed their course in his official "second" year.

Another Old Testament passage where the Babylonian reckoning appears is II Kings 25:27, where we read that Evil Merodach, king of Babylon, was kind to Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah, "in the year that he began to reign." Why does not the writer say as usual "in the first year of his reign"? Had we no further information, this would seem only an accidental, and therefore meaningless, variation from the ordinary mode of speech; but since we have learned from the inscriptions that the clause in II Kings 25:27 is the technically correct term for the year of the monarch's accession, we cannot help so interpreting it here. And it is entirely natural that it should be used here, since a Babylonian transaction is narrated.

Although the third confirmatory passage is of great importance, its bearing on our problem has hitherto been entirely overlooked. In Jer. 52:28-30 we read:

This is the people whom Nebuchadrezzar carried away captive: in the seventh year three thousand Jews and three and twenty; in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar he carried away captive from Jerusalem eight hundred thirty and two persons; in the three and twentieth year of Nebuchadrezzar Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, carried away captive of the

Jews seven hundred forty and five persons: all the persons were four thousand and six hundred.

The chapter in which this passage occurs was not written by the prophet himself, but is an editorial appendix, as is clear from the last words of the preceding chapter, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah." Chapter 52 is identical with II Kings 24:18-25:30, with certain variations, the most important of which are that in Jer. 52 the story of Gedaliah and Ishmael is omitted, and that in II Kings we do not find the passage we are now considering. This passage is also omitted from the Septuagint.

Furthermore, and of the greatest importance to the present discussion, the dating in these verses is strikingly at variance with that given for the same events in the historical books of the Old Testament, and even in the rest of this very chapter of Jeremiah. Events are here assigned to the seventh and eighteenth years of Nebuchadnezzar which, according to other passages, took place in his eighth and nineteenth years, as the following parallel shows.

This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive in the *seventh* year . . . (Jer. 52:28)

In the *eighteenth* year of Nebuchadnezzar he carried away captive from Jerusalem . . . (Jer. 52:29)

The king of Babylon took him (Jehoiachin) in the *eighth* year of his reign. (II Kings 24:12)

Now in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which was the *nineteenth* year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon . . . (II Kings 25:8; cf. Jer. 52:12)

It is evident that we have here two methods of counting the years of Nebuchadnezzar, and that they correspond exactly to the two methods known to have been used respectively in Palestine and Babylonia. In each case the

year of the king in Jer. 52:28-30 is one less than in the parallel passage. This difference is perfectly explained if we assume that the section in question was added to the prophecies of Jeremiah by someone in Babylon who had access to an official report or record, in which the dates would, of course, be set down according to the Babylonian reckoning. This supposition accounts also for the great precision of the figures, and for the omission of the section from the Septuagint. The earlier form of the chapter, lacking these verses, circulated in Palestine and Egypt and was the Hebrew text used by the translators of the Septuagint; but later on, when the Massoretic text came to be fixed, these verses were added from Babylonian copies of Jeremiah.

That we do have, in the verses we have just been considering, two different methods of counting regnal years, has been recognized by some students, though they did not know how to explain the fact. C. W. Eduard Naegelsbach, in Lange's *Commentary on Jeremiah*, says: "By the seventh year, in vs. 28, we are certainly to understand the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, since both the other deportations are in the years of that monarch. These statements are not necessarily erroneous, but may possibly follow another reckoning of the years."

C. F. Keil, in his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, says: "This difference can be settled only by assuming that this list of deportations was derived from another source than the preceding notice regarding the destruction of Jerusalem; in which the years of Nebuchadnezzar were reckoned in some other way than elsewhere in the book of Kings, probably from the date of the actual commencement of his reign, which followed a year after he first appeared in Judah, from which his reign is dated elsewhere."

Although coming so near to the true solution, Keil seems

to have had no definite knowledge of the two systems of reckoning in Palestine and Babylonia. Therefore, later on in the same discussion, he inconsistently approves the conjectural emendation of Ewald, that "seven" in vs. 28 is an error for "seventeen." This conjecture of Ewald's was very generally accepted, especially after Keil's authority was added, but, as Naegelsbach pointed out, it was far from satisfactory.

If we accept Ewald's suggestion, the years must be counted according to the ordinary Palestinian method. By this chronology, Jerusalem fell in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, in the fifth month (Jer. 52:12). The siege was begun in his seventeenth year, in the tenth month (Jer. 52:4). Those who regard the idea of Ewald as correct usually say that the first group of 3,023 prisoners (which Jer. 52:28 does not state were taken out of Jerusalem) were captured during Nebuchadnezzar's advance upon the city; the second group of 823 were, indeed, men of Jerusalem (as the account expressly states) but they were captured during the fighting which preceded the fall of the city. That they form a separate group these expositors explain by reference to the temporary raising of the siege, due to the approach of Pharaoh Hophra and his army (Jer. 37:5). Upon the approach of this enemy, they imagine that Nebuchadnezzar sent the prisoners who were then in his camp to Babylon to get them out of the way.

All this is ingenious, but unsupported by evidence, and it leaves us with a strange situation. Whoever wrote the memorandum of Jer. 52:28-30 seems to think that he is giving complete statistics of the deportations to Babylon. He begins by saying, "This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive," and ends by saying, "All the persons were four thousand and six hundred," which

is a correct addition of the figures given. That he does not intend to confine himself to the final destruction of Jerusalem is clear from his adding a deportation that occurred five years later. This being so, why should he have omitted all reference to what was certainly the most important deportation of all, that under Jehoiachin (II Kings 24:10-16), and, more surprising still, why does he mention no captives taken at the fall of the city in Nebuchadnezzar's nineteenth year? Although he professes to give a full account, according to Ewald's theory he does nothing of the kind, but confines himself to minor instances of deportations.

All this is cleared up, however, as soon as we make use of our clue that the years are given here according to the Babylonian reckoning, the events referred to being the same that are elsewhere assigned to the eighth and nineteenth years of Nebuchadnezzar.

To this it may be objected that the great disparity in the figures forbids us to identify the deportation of Jer. 52:28 with that of the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar in II Kings 24:10-16; in the former passage the number of those deported is given as 3,023, while in the latter it is 10,000 in vs. 14, and 8,000 more in vs. 16, or a total of 18,000. But are we sure that the 8,000 in vs. 16 are *in addition* to the 10,000 in vs. 14? Even if they are, the apparent disparity has been explained by J. F. McCurdy in *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, p. 290: "The writer draws from a Babylonian source distinct from those used in II Kings, and a sober view of the situation will show that his information is reliable, and evidently refers only to people whose names are recorded."

If McCurdy is correct, then the figures of this section are to be understood in the same way as the "seventy souls" of Gen. 46, where we are expressly told that "all

the souls of the house of Jacob, that came into Egypt, were three score and ten," although an inspection of the list immediately shows us that this is the number of those whose names are given, and does not include any women, children, slave-servants, or even free men occupying subordinate positions. Heads of families only are enumerated—the term "family" meaning here, not father and mother and children, but a subordinate group within the tribe. Thus the whole number that came into Egypt must have been several hundred, if not more than a thousand.

On the reasonable supposition that this is the case also with the records consulted by the unknown author of Jer. 52:28-30, then his figure of 3,023 for those deported in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar is not inconsistent with the 18,000 who, according to II Kings 24:10-16, were deported in the "eighth year" of that monarch. As for his other figures, they do not come into any conflict with statistics given elsewhere; for the historical books of the Old Testament do not tell us how many were taken captive at the fall of Jerusalem. The figure 823 certainly seems too small, if it is a total; but if, by the same reasoning, this also is taken to include only heads of families, it only shows how terribly reduced the garrison was after so severe a siege.

We conclude, then, that Jer. 52:28 is a trustworthy memorandum, inserted by a Babylonian Jew who had access to official records, in which the dates would certainly be given according to the Babylonian system. It is, therefore, an independent proof that the years of a king were, according to the Babylonian count, always one number less than the same years according to the Palestinian reckoning.

With this confirmation of our view, we return now to

Dan. 1:1, and, understanding the third year of Jehoiakim here to be identical with his fourth year in Jer. 25:1; 46:2, the whole course of events becomes intelligible and consistent, and may be reconstructed (in part, conjecturally) as follows.

(1) Early in the year (605 B.C.) Jeremiah delivers the prophetic discourse of chap. 25, predicting the coming of the Chaldeans.

(2) Also early in this year (S. R. Driver puts it in the second or third month) Nebuchadnezzar, then crown prince, defeats the Egyptians under Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish (Jer. 46:2).

(3) A month later, more or less, Nebuchadnezzar, pursuing the retreating Egyptians, appears in Palestine. The distance from Carchemish to Jerusalem is about four hundred miles; his army could cover that distance in thirty days, allowing an advance of twelve or thirteen miles a day, and he would certainly march as rapidly as possible in pursuit of a fleeing foe.

(4) Then occurs what is recorded in II Kings 24:1, II Chron. 36:6, 7 and Dan. 1:1. The account in Chronicles says that the king of Babylon bound Jehoiakim with fetters, to carry him to Babylon, but does not say that he actually did so carry him. Neither is this clearly stated in Dan. 1:1,2, although some students so understand it, construing the relative pronoun as referring both to the king and the vessels. The point, however, is not of primary importance. If Jehoiakim was taken on this occasion to Babylon, he was presently restored to his country and his throne. But if Nebuchadnezzar first put Jehoiakim in chains to carry him to Babylon, and later changed his mind, then something must have happened to account for such a change.

(5) What it was, is probably revealed by Berosus, who

says that at this time Nebuchadnezzar received news of the death of his father, Nabopolassar; that he thereupon entrusted his Jewish and other captives to his generals, and himself, with a small escort, cut across the desert by the direct route to Babylon. All this happened in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Hebrew count; but by Babylonian reckoning it was the third year of Jehoiakim and the "accession year" of Nebuchadnezzar.

The story told by Berosus is, on insufficient grounds, rejected by most critics, but it is accepted by historians like Hugo Winckler, Edgar Goodspeed, James H. Breasted and Friedrich Delitsch.

What is there, then, that is unhistorical or incredible about the statements in Dan. 1:1,2? With one exception, all of the difficulties in connection with this passage now disappear. Nebuchadnezzar does not appear in Jerusalem prior to the prophecy of Jer. 25; he does not invade Palestine with an unbeaten Egyptian army threatening his rear, and it is not true that nothing is said in the historical books of the Old Testament about his invasion, for the campaign of Dan. 1:1 is the same as that of II Kings 24:1 and II Chron. 36:6.

There remains only the objection of Aalders, that if Jehoiakim revolted three years later, it is incredible that the Babylonian king should have postponed taking the field against his rebellious vassal until the eleventh year of the latter. But the answer to this objection is very simple—Nebuchadnezzar did *not* leave Jehoiakim alone during all these years. We read in II Kings 24:2 that there came against Jehoiakim in these intervening years "bands of the Chaldeans, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon." Must we not suppose these to have acted under

orders from Babylon? Certainly that was true of the "bands of the Chaldeans," and probably it was true of the others also. In this way Nebuchadnezzar wore down his rebellious vassal by constant invasions, until he himself was ready to march against Palestine in force.

Let us remember, too, that Nebuchadnezzar ruled a vast empire, with possibilities of revolt in many quarters and potential enemies on many fronts. We cannot judge his policy without a more detailed knowledge of the situation. To invade Judah alone would not require so large an army; but if he marched into Palestine he must be prepared to meet the possibility of an Egyptian advance. In view of these considerations, this one remaining objection has very little force.

If we have won the agreement of our readers thus far, they will hardly fail to agree also with our final point, which is that, with the construction that we have given it, Dan. 1:1 is not only credible history, but also tends to show that the work in which it appears is a Babylonian document, and belongs to the Babylonian period of Hebrew history.

We say intentionally that it "tends" to prove this. There are many other problems that need to be considered before this conclusion is firmly established; but, so far as it goes, instead of impeaching the historicity of the book and its claim to be of Babylonian origin in the Babylonian period, it does strongly tend to confirm these conclusions. By many scholars the book of Daniel is assigned to the Maccabean period, when the dominant culture of Palestine had been Greek for more than a century. Before that, for two hundred years it had been Persian. Can any one explain why a writer in Palestine, at that late period, should date the years of Jehoiakim by a method

that had not been in use for three hundred years, that was not commonly used in the Hebrew historical books, and that was unintelligible to his readers? Even if he was himself an antiquarian who was familiar with the Babylonian method of reckoning the years of a king's reign, why should he use this method in writing for people who were not antiquarians?

That the author of Dan. 1:1 *did* use it, can be explained only upon the ground that he was a Babylonian Jew, and wrote for Babylonian Jews, in the Babylonian period.

NINE SHEETS OF PRICELESS PARCHMENT

A RE-INTERPRETATION OF SCHECHTER'S SO-CALLED
ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS

BY JACOB QUIRING

WHEN I was a boy my idea of a translator was a man who sat at a desk on which were placed pencil and paper, a bi-lingual lexicon, and, of course, the work which he was to translate. If he did not know the meaning of the first word, he looked it up in the lexicon and then wrote down the correct translation. The same procedure was followed with the second and third words, and so on until his task was finished. I should have been utterly incredulous if anyone had told me that it would take me eighteen years, during the first three of which I did practically nothing else, to translate eighteen pages of Hebrew. Indeed, I am still almost incredulous of the fact that I, a loyal American citizen, spent the most critical of those years, namely, 1917 and 1918, calmly and peacefully working away at my manuscript—in the city of Berlin!

For one thing, it was impossible for me to begin by looking up the first word in a lexicon because, many centuries before I was born, someone had obliterated the first word with a greasy thumb-print whose markings are still so distinct that if the miscreant were living today the police would have no difficulty in identifying him by it.

The story of the finding of the nine sheets of parchment on which these eighteen pages are written is a romantic

one, but space does not permit me to re-tell it now. In brief, the late Solomon Schechter, then Rabbinical Lecturer at Cambridge University and later president of the Hebrew Theological Seminary of America, discovered them, together with many other rare finds, in 1897 while he was rummaging through the dust and rubbish of the *genizah*, or store-room for worn-out and discarded manuscripts, of the old Ezra Synagogue in Cairo, and he published the text and translation of what he called "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" in 1910.*

On the basis of Schechter's publication, the manuscript† is apparently a mediaeval copy (probably dating from the tenth century) of a document that was written some time before the beginning of the Christian era in support of the ideas of a schismatic Jewish group, the Zadokites, whose members had been forced to flee from Palestine and seek refuge in or near the city of Damascus. If Schechter's interpretation of the document is correct, it should prove of great value to the study of Hebrew thought in the period between the Testaments; according to my own interpretation (which is that of many other students of the manuscript) it is of even larger significance. Unfortunately, however, for many years the difficulties in the way of a correct translation were almost insuperable.

In the first place, Schechter's publication of the text was accompanied by the strange decision of the author and of the Cambridge Library, in which the manuscript was now

* For the full title of this, and of other works cited, see the bibliography at the end of the chapter.

† Strictly speaking, I should say "manuscripts," for Schechter recognized immediately that the sixteen pages of his Text A constitute a different manuscript from the two pages of Text B, and there is now no doubt that the first eight pages of Text A are in a different handwriting from that of the following eight pages. The reader will bear these facts in mind when, for the sake of brevity, I refer to the entire collection as "*the manuscript*."

deposited, that no other scholar should have access to it for a period of five years. This meant that in their study of this extraordinary and widely heralded discovery the greatest Semitic authorities in the world were forced to confine their investigations to a printed text in modern Hebrew characters; a text which took no account of the varying lengths of the lines in the original, which had to render each ambiguous character by some definite printed letter, which the author himself confessed was a hasty reconstruction of a very imperfect manuscript,* and in which later on no fewer than fifty-five errors of transcription were discovered by the German scholar, Leonhard Rost.

In 1917 (after the prohibitory period had expired) Professor Hugo Gressmann of the University of Berlin, with whom I had become acquainted during my Semitic studies under Franz Delitsch, urged me to undertake a new translation of Schechter's *Fragments* on the basis of a thorough reconstruction of the text. I consented somewhat reluctantly, for I already foresaw some of the difficulties that I should have to encounter; if I had realized how many and perplexing these difficulties were to be, I doubt if I would have dared attempt the task.

While the form of the letters probably dates all of the pages of the manuscript in the tenth century, a brief examination convinced me that Rost was correct in his statement that the first eight pages of Schechter's Text A (the Haggada portion) are not from the same hand that wrote the following eight pages of Halacha. Both copyists were

* In his preface Schechter says: "All I could do was both in the Introduction and in the Notes to call the attention of the reader to the unfortunate condition of our text. . . . No student who has had experience in editing texts can fail to see at once that very little can be taken for certain, and the largest part of the commentary and the conclusions based on it in the Introduction can only be regarded as tentative."

very hasty and careless; but the second was even more negligent than the first. Furthermore, the last four pages of Text A are so mutilated both on the edges and on the bottom that an intelligent reading of them is well-nigh impossible. Text B, which consists of one sheet written on both sides, is blurred and in places almost illegible; yet on the whole it seems to have a greater consistency and clearness textually than Text A, and as its subject matter is a duplication, or, rather, a revision of pages seven and eight of Text A, it provides us with a valuable check on our textual emendations.

Another piece of good fortune for the translator is that throughout the manuscript the words are separated from one another, and not run together in solid lines as they probably were in the long lost original; but the text is, of course, written for the most part in consonants only, the vowel points being omitted. Here and there letters are provided with Babylonian or Palestinian vowel-points; but the latter are subject to question because they seem to have been inserted some time subsequent to the writing of the rest of the manuscript. Occasionally the long *i* and *u* are indicated to facilitate the reading; but the so-called *matres lectionis*, or semi-vowels, are inserted only very irregularly. As in all mediaeval Hebrew manuscripts, the left stroke of the ן reaches practically to the upper horizontal stroke, and thus makes it hard to distinguish from the ן. The ׳ is often drawn too far down, so as to be confused with the ך, and the latter letter sometimes approaches the final ך. Not infrequently we find that words have been written, only to be crossed out.

It is clearly to be seen that we are dealing with the work of careless scribes, who themselves were transcribing a very poor copy of the original work, about whose meaning they had only a confused notion. So the text as we now

have it is full of glaring inconsistencies, obvious contradictions, faulty constructions, careless spellings and annoying gaps.

The fact that the document apparently quotes so freely from the Hebrew Scriptures is misleading; for students were at first loath to suspect a copyist of misrepresenting the author's thought by inserting Biblical citations of his own choosing. The fact seems to be, however, that whenever the scribe was unable to decipher a portion of the manuscript that he was copying he was wont to fill in the gap with what appealed to him as a relevant quotation from the Scriptures or an allusion to some apocryphal book like Enoch, Jubilees, or the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. As G. F. Moore observes, "The obscurity is increased by the fact that the citations are often a tissue of fragmentary reminiscences, chosen and combined, it seems, by purely verbal association, or taken in an occult sense."

Again, as is the case with so many Hebrew writings that were put forth during periods of persecution, our Fragments are somewhat apocalyptic in form, that is, their allusions to critical events and dangerous enemies are couched in cryptic, symbolic terms so that they may not be understood except by the particular group to whom the message was originally addressed. Unfortunately we modern students do not belong in that group; so, for all our patient investigation of those troublous times, many of the subtle allusions and symbolisms are not clear to us, as they were to the first readers of the document.

The ultimate test of the reconstruction of an imperfect text and its subsequent translation is *consistency*. After gaps have been filled in, errors of transcription corrected, ambiguities clarified and apocalyptic allusions identified, is the final result a reasonable and coherent unity as re-

gards the document itself, and is it also consistent with what has been assumed as its historic setting and authorship? If the answer to these questions is affirmative, then there is a strong presumption that the reconstruction of the text and the subsequent translation are measurably correct.

After many years of checking and rechecking my conclusions, I am convinced that my interpretation of the so-called Zadokite Fragments will stand the acid test of consistency. The many other Semitic students throughout the world who have been, or who now are, devoting their talents to the clarification of this most significant but sadly mutilated document may correct my rendering of certain details; but I am confident that my main thesis will stand, namely, that the manuscript represents the vehement protest of *orthodox rabbinical Judaism* against the Hellenization of the Jewish people and the paganizing of their customs and traditions by the Syrian tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes and his sycophant hireling Jeshua (or, Jason), the recreant, bribe-taking high priest, and that it was written in or shortly after the year 172 B.C. (that is, not long before the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt*) by a member of a group of loyal, zealous Jews who had migrated to, or who perhaps had even been forced to flee to, the region of Damascus because of their refusal to take part in, or to condone, this Hellenization of their race and religion. It is, therefore, a document of the utmost importance to the student of the inter-Testamental period; for, with the exception of the book of Ben Sira (the Hebrew manuscript of which was also discovered by Schechter in the *genizah* of the Ezra Synagogue), this is the only He-

* In my study of the Fragments I am continually finding new parallelisms with I and II Maccabees, which, if my view of the historical setting is correct, were written at a somewhat later date, and may, possibly, have drawn from our unknown author.

brew document of the pre-Maccabean period that we possess. And, whatever else it may be or may not be, it is unquestionably the first-hand testimony of an eye-witness of momentous events, a contemporary record *par excellence*.

That the tyrant Antiochus is referred to as Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (cf. Babylon = Rome in the New Testament Apocalypse; also the book of Daniel) shows how anxious the author was to make his writing unintelligible to Syrian persecutors. The aggressive Hellenistic movement is also characteristically disguised as *rash'a*, which is usually translated "wickedness." Verbs like *a'bhōr* (usually rendered "transgress") and *par'ēr* (occurring only in the Hiphil, and meaning "break" or "violate") take on a new and intense connotation in this critical period just before the Maccabean outbreak; the former when used with *berith* means the complete abrogation of the (Mosaic) covenant. Many words in the Fragments show the influence of later Biblical writings, such as Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Daniel. Indeed, the linguistic study of the document is fascinating, tantalizing and almost endless, though it can not be discussed within the limits of this chapter.

The historical background of the work, which was undoubtedly intended for circulation among the synagogues of the orthodox (and revolutionary-minded?) Jews, as well as its intense religious feeling, righteous indignation and burning zeal, will be seen in my rendering of the first page of the manuscript together with the opening line of the second page.* I advisedly use such an elastic term as

* The extent to which I part company with the discoverer and first editor of the Fragments will be evident from a comparison of our renderings of the opening lines. Schechter's translation begins thus:

"Now, therefore, hearken unto me, all ye who know righteousness and meditate upon the work of God. For He has a controversy with all flesh,

“rendering” because a slavishly literal translation of the text as it now stands would be well-nigh unintelligible. Space does not permit even a rapid summary of the grounds for my numerous textual emendations; this will have to await the publication of my revised transcription and English version of the manuscript. But, surely, the chief aim of a translator is to deal with ideas rather than mere words, to interpret thoughts rather than grammatical terms.

In the paragraphs that follow I have, therefore, attempted to give the meaning of the manuscript as it was understood by those to whom it was originally addressed, who, of course, were familiar with its veiled allusions. In some cases, however, I have added in brackets the literal translation of an apocalyptic word or phrase.

Beware of the son of Belial who advocates Hellenism [wickedness] as the culture of reason and denounces Judaism [righteousness] as the practise of superstition, declaring: There never was a divine covenant with Israel, and the legal decisions of Moses in the Torah are not the commandments of God. Beware of him. For Israel has given up the Torah and has joined the Hellenists [wicked ones].

Moreover, he dares to execute those who cling to the ancestral religion, and to collect through the confiscation of their property the 390 talents of silver [cf. II Macc. 4:9] which he promised to pay to Antiochus Epiphanes [Nebuchadnezzar the wicked one] because thus he secured from him his appointment as high priest of Israel and the privilege of building a gymnasium [house of wrestling] and a theater [place of destruction; Hebrew, *astadîn*, a play on the Greek word, *stádion*] in Jerusalem, and so to

and He will execute judgment upon all who despise Him. For because of their treason that they forsook Him, He hid His face from Israel and from His sanctuary and delivered them unto the sword.”

unite Israel with the other nations of the world in one language and one culture.

Therefore even the priests appear naked, but with their circumcision disguised, whenever they participate in the games. And in order to demonstrate that they are in all respects Hellenists [wicked ones], under his guidance they even recognize the Greek idols as fit objects of worship, so that all Israel consults their oracles. He frankly declares: The study and application of the laws of the Torah is the cause of Israel's isolation, while Hellenism makes for happiness and union, not only for those that now live but also for future generations, because it is the culture of intellectual freedom.

Therefore those law-defying renegades and passionate polygamists are worse than their fathers to whom the words of the prophet refer: Like a heifer at mating time, so behaves Israel [cf. Hos. 4:16]. They are all attention whenever that blaspheming renegade speaks of the covenant of Israel as a scheme of Moses to separate the people from the nations of the world and to train them to regard their religion as an everlasting covenant with God and Judaism as a rock that cannot be moved. As it is written: Thou shalt not change the institutions and customs which the ancients have established in their day and generation [cf. Deut. 19:14].

But the curses of the covenant which are written in the Torah shall overtake them and deliver them up to the sword which is getting ready to wreak vengeance for the covenant so shamefully spurned by Israel, being carried away by the treacherous speeches of that malicious blasphemer. And because they are giving preference to the loose moral life of the Hellenists and their excesses at the banquet tables, they hate the discipline of the laws of Judaism, disdain circumcision, renounce all obligations, and those who strictly adhere to the law they so abhor that they persecute them and kill them in large numbers.

Therefore the seething wrath of God will blaze

forth against these murderers; for he will surely uphold his unfailing love to countless generations of those who love him and keep his commandments [cf. Deut. 7:9].

The translation which begins as given above does at least meet the test of consistency with itself and with the historic setting where nearly all scholars place our document. The author paints a vivid picture of the attempts at a thorough-going Hellenization of Israel at the instigation of the arch-traitor and usurping high priest, Jeshua, and with the support of the Syrian king. The mass of the priesthood, upon whom lies the responsibility for the correct instruction of Israel, are willing tools in the hands of their clever and unscrupulous leader. The opposition of the minority of stalwart defenders of historic Judaism to the new order is not, however, merely the instinctive resentment of an intolerant conservatism against foreign innovations; it is the opposition of godliness to impiety, the violent reaction of decency and chastity against impudence and profligacy. The priests of Jeshua have become notorious polygamists; they also openly practice polytheism by consulting the Greek oracles, and they are set upon converting the entire population to heathen practices and moral laxities. Israel seems on the verge of becoming an idolatrous people, and therefore upon it the divine wrath will inflict such condign punishment that no trace of the God-defying and Law-spurning generation will remain.

The pages which follow tell of God's loving and tender care for the faithful; yet they also recall the ominous warning that was given by the first great catastrophe which befell mankind, namely, the flood with its terrible devastation and loss of life. Israel's whole national history since the Exodus proves conclusively that only a remnant can and

will be saved; the nation as such is utterly reprobate and rejected, and is marked for destruction. In anticipation of the approaching cataclysm the faithful are already rallying in the region of Damascus, where they are organizing a new social order under the name of the "Congregation of the New Covenant in the Land of Damascus," and the laws and regulations of this new covenant are given at some length in the second (Halacha) portion of the manuscript.

Because of the extremely mutilated condition of the last page of Text A, hardly more than a word or two can be distinguished in each line of its concluding sentences;* but Text B sounds forth a note of hope. "They will see his salvation with joy, because they put their confidence in him"—which seems clearly to point to the coming successful uprising against the Syrian rule under the leadership of the Maccabees.

The more one studies this remarkable and moving document, the less is found in it that is in any way inconsistent with its having been written by an orthodox Jew. Why, then, did Schechter ascribe it to a schismatic group? Partly, doubtless, because he had only very roughly and incompletely reconstructed the mutilated and corrupt text of the manuscript on which he was working; but chiefly because (1) he felt that the legal requirements in the second Halacha portion are not consistent with what we know of the orthodox Judaism of that day, and (2) because as a matter of fact, the Zadokites (literally, Sons of Zadok) *are* unquestionably mentioned in the manuscript, and a sect of that name was (nearly eight hundred years later)

* It is probable, also, that we do not possess the final page of the original document.

supposed by Kirkisani and other writers to have existed in ancient times.

But as regards the legalistic portion, Schechter's own colleague, Professor Louis Ginsberg of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, says, "The Halacha represents in all essential questions pertaining to the law, the Pharisaic point of view and contains nothing that may be ascribed to the influence of Sadduceeism, Dositheans or any other heretical group."

As regards a hypothetical Zadokite sect, Schechter himself admitted that "the annals of Jewish history contain no record of a Sect agreeing in all points with the one depicted in the preceding pages" [of his Introduction], and George F. Moore writes: "There is nothing in the book before us to warrant classing the men who made the new covenant in the land of Damascus as a Zadokite sect. . . . Of the peculiar organization of our sect, which would be conclusive, there is no trace anywhere."

For myself, I can see no mystery in connection with the Sons of Zadok of our document. They were no more and no less than a group of *priests* of the lineage of Zadok (cf. II Chron. 31:10; Sirach 51:12; Ezek. 44:15, etc.) who, together with numerous lay adherents, had fled to the region of Damascus to escape the consequences of their loyal defense of the traditional Jewish religion against the onslaughts of Hellenism. Far from being schismatics, the Zadokites were, as they themselves would have put it, the faithful remnant of Israel.

The books of the Maccabees and the apocalyptic portion of Daniel (chapters 7-12), together with the historical works of Josephus, furnish valuable information regarding the first contacts of Judaism with Hellenism; but the fresh, spontaneous, passionate appeal of our pres-

ent document, which is quite independent of any other known source, is unique among extant writings of the period and gives us a vivid and unforgettable picture of all that was best and most enduring in the sorely tempted and tried Judaism of its day.

Was its author Oniah, the rightful high priest who had been dispossessed of his office by his scheming brother Jeshua? Was John the Baptist familiar with this document, whose stern denunciations of a faithless hierarchy he afterward repeated? Did Paul win his first converts at Damascus among the descendants of the covenanters of the pre-Maccabean period who had chosen exile rather than disloyalty to their faith?

These questions, together with many others that are suggested by our study of this fascinating work, must remain for the present unanswered. But it seems certain that a document like this, originating in such a covenanted group at such a time and penned with such infectious ardor, must have had a great deal to do with stirring the hearts of the faithful in Palestine itself to join in the Maccabean revolt. If this is so, then it played a decisive part in preserving intact the Hebrew faith against the constant vicious attacks of Gentile culture and religion, and thus in preparing the way for the culmination of that historic faith in the life and teaching of the long looked-for Messiah.

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A GROWING WORLD CULTURE AND RELIGION

BY A. K. REISCHAUER

ONE of the striking phenomena of the modern world is the development of what might be called a common world culture. In spite of the conflicts so characteristic of our present-day world contacts, and in spite of all the reaction toward a narrow and self-contained nationalism and sectionalism, there is nevertheless developing for the first time in human history something like a common culture for all men. This universal strife and these reactionary tendencies are but the reverse side of the bigger fact that the world is being thrown together in spite of itself. The same great forces are operative the world over. Where once there were separate cultural areas with only slight contacts with each other, today all spiritual boundaries are becoming less marked and life with its problems is becoming more and more alike in every cultural area. There are, of course, still real differences between the cultures of different peoples, but these differences are becoming less marked from year to year and the trend is strong toward fusing them into some sort of oneness. Perhaps we can not call it as yet a common world culture, for it is still too inchoate to be a unified culture; but nevertheless the trend is away from all local and regional cultures and toward something more universal.

Even among peoples which are regarded as backward and as differing widely from the advanced peoples of the

world, there are today centers in which the elements of our common world culture are becoming more and more dominant, and from these centers this influence is spreading in ever-widening circles until it reaches the remotest village and the most obscure hamlet. And what shall one say of the great centers of population among the leading oriental peoples which have had their own rich culture for century after century, but which are now definitely attempting to fuse their spiritual inheritance with the new elements that are coming in from all parts of the world?

In some of these centers there is developing in a real sense this new thing that we are calling our common world culture. One thinks especially of such a world capital as Tokyo, with its 6,000,000 people, its modern streets and transportation system, its western type of new buildings, its great mercantile establishments and numerous industries, its great educational institutions with approximately 100,000 students of college grade, its modern newspapers carrying the news from every corner of the world, its innumerable book stores whose shelves are laden with the wisdom and folly of all peoples of all ages, its theaters and movies picturing the lives of all peoples and including often the worst side of western life, its radio hook-ups, its cafés and its night clubs, its better social life where visitors from every country mingle with the *élite* of Japan, its innumerable organizations for civic improvements and for cultural uplift, its temples and shrines representing the old religions, and, finally, its numerous churches representing Christianity.

It is in such a center that one sees better than perhaps in any other place the forces that are making the lives of men the world over more and more alike. Some of these forces are disintegrating forces, others are constructive. Even the constructive forces often have a disintegrating

effect on the old local and regional cultures, though in the long run some of the values of the old will be conserved and fused with the new elements and together will help form the broader world culture. At least in some lands this will be the case, and in Japan this process has been going on now for upward of fifty years.

For the present the dominant forces that are shaping our growing world culture are coming from the West. The streams of life and culture have been flowing from Europe and America toward Asia, Africa and the isles of the sea. There have been periods in human history when the currents were largely in the opposite direction, and this may happen again. In the development of a truly common world culture there will naturally be included elements of great value from the rich cultural inheritance of oriental peoples. Only in this way could our western culture become truly a world culture. But whatever may take place in the future, for the present the dominant currents of life are flowing from the western world rather than toward it.

There are three major elements that come predominantly from the western world and that are shaping up the older regional cultures into a sort of common world culture. The first and most obvious is what might be called the fruits of our applied science and scientific industry. It is little short of amazing how easily the products of our scientific age are being appropriated by the most widely differing peoples and how much these things in turn make for the same type of life just as rapidly as they can be had in sufficient quantities. Japan has already shown, not only that she can make use of these things, but that she can also produce them at a rate that is alarming to the western

world. It is sheer stupidity to think that the Orient is so supremely interested in dreaming about things spiritual that it is indifferent to physical riches. As a matter of fact, nine-tenths of the things which the masses in the Orient have always sought to gain through their religion are just the things that make for a more comfortable physical well-being. Even a Gandhi is not opposed to the obvious blessings of our scientific industry, and a Kagawa of Japan, with all his spiritual interest and emphasis, is thoroughly committed to the products of science and industry as an element of the good life. Our common world culture will therefore have this as a permanent element, whatever else it may or may not include.

A second element which is shaping up our growing world culture pertains to our political and social institutions. This is of more recent development. It is quite easy to exchange material goods among peoples who differ widely in their general culture; but the exchange of ideas, and especially ideas about such inner meanings and values as are bound up with political and social institutions, is not so easy a matter. Yet one of the striking things today, especially since the world war, is the exchange of ideas in regard to these matters. Business depressions may periodically impede the exchange of goods, but in spite of this, and sometimes because of this, men everywhere are thinking more and more about the same sort of problems in regard to political and social institutions. Even the present reaction toward a self-contained nationalism shows how much alike nations are becoming. A Fascism in Italy has its echo in Japan, and a Soviet Russia finds its response in southern China. While a Gandhi may seek to keep India true to her ancient social inheritance, he himself nevertheless cuts right across the age-long caste system,

and a Nehru is ready to break completely with the old, even if this involves violence, in order to achieve new political and social institutions patterned somewhat after those of the western world.

There is, of course, no agreement yet in any land as to just what is the highest ideal for our political and social institutions. In fact, there is perhaps more disagreement than ever. But the point is that in all lands and among all peoples throughout the world the same sort of problems and the same sort of ideals are being discussed today, and there is also emerging, though slowly, a growing element of what in this sphere of life is valid for all peoples, no matter how different their past history has been.

A third major factor that is shaping our growing world culture, and one on which all others must largely depend for their fuller development and unification, is education. There is nothing more striking in the modern world than the all but universal belief in education. Even in lands that have been regarded as hopelessly backward, the modern school has made its appearance, and it is to the school that men are looking for help in building the better life. Japan was the first among oriental peoples to develop a great educational system; today she ranks as one of the most literate nations in the world. And what Japan has done so rapidly and on the whole so effectively, is being done more or less successfully by others of the so-called non-Christian nations. Both in method and in content these educational systems in the different lands are more and more alike, with the result that educated men and women the world over are reading one another's books and are thinking the same thoughts about the problems of life. Where once only a few could read, and so come into intelligent contact with peoples of other cultures, today

millions are thinking in terms of what men in other lands are thinking.

Now if we are right in believing that, in spite of the friction and strife so characteristic of our modern world contacts, mankind is nevertheless being drawn together by a common science and its fruits, by common ideals in political and social institutions, and by the influence of modern education which is much the same in all nations both in its methods and in its general content of subject matter, then the question arises as to what is happening in the matter of man's religion—since religion has always been intimately bound up with world culture. If the major elements of our western culture that we have named are being more or less fused with the various local or regional cultures, and if they are shaping these up into a more or less common world culture, what will happen in the field of religion? Can men the world over share increasingly in a common culture without also coming closer together in religion?

This is not an academic question pertaining to the future. It is a present fact that the fusion of cultures has already had a tremendous effect on religion. In outward appearance things may seem very much the same as before (except, of course, in Russia) and the great historic groupings of religions with their divisions and subdivisions remain intact nominally, each keeping its own identity. But in spite of this outward appearance there have been radical changes in inner meanings and values for many in every religious communion.

In some respects the changes that have come over the religious life of the world have been rather disastrous. In many cases the old meanings and values have been emptied of their content without any new content having

been put in their place. An almost universal phenomenon is what may be called the secularization of the modern man in every nation. The great systems of education mentioned above have usually either ignored religion altogether or have been actually hostile to it. The result is what might be expected, namely, a generation of more or less educated men and women which knows religion only in terms of its childhood experience, and which therefore looks upon religion largely as something which the mature mind outgrows.

Even where religion has not been emptied of all real meaning, the fusion of cultures has brought only confusion in religion. Religion today is chaotic, and its leaders are often exceedingly uncertain as to what their own faith stands for. Where once they were positive and had convictions as to the truth for which their faith stood, and where often this faith was held with a spirit of intolerance toward other faiths that differed from it, religious leaders have now become commendably open-minded toward any truth from any quarter—but apparently at the expense of certitude about any truth for which religion stands today, even their own inherited faith.

Among those who are in substantial agreement as to the general elements of a common culture, there seems to be little agreement as to just what religion stands for and what kind of religion can have real meaning for the modern man. On the one hand, intelligent leaders are insisting that religion can have no real place in the life of mature men and women, and, on the other hand, equally intelligent leaders insist that the very core and flower of all true culture is religion, or is at least closely bound up with religion. And, further, those who insist that religion should have no place in modern life do so for reasons that are often most contradictory. The truth of the matter

seems to be, as was said above, that the fusion of cultures has brought little more than confusion in religion, and that, in spite of the trend toward a common world culture, we are far yet from anything like a unity in religion.

It may seem that, since the three major elements which are shaping up our growing world culture come predominantly from the western world, this should insure the growing ascendancy of the Christian religion as the normal religion for the modern world, supplanting all other religions as it advances with its allies, modern science, democratic political and social institutions, and modern education. These three great forces in the modern world had their main development in connection with Christianity and they are, at least in part, a product of Christianity. Furthermore, these three great forces, and particularly the third, i.e., modern education, were first introduced to the non-Christian world by Christian educators. Also it should be added that Christianity is today more truly a world religion than any other religion. All this should carry with it the strong probability of Christianity becoming the religion for all men and the heart and inspiration of the growing world culture. Certainly Christianity is in a better position to capture this place than any other religion.

But whatever may be the future of Christianity in the western world, there are two great obstacles which stand in the way of its becoming the religion of what are today the non-Christian peoples, even though these peoples are accepting so readily the great cultural elements coming from the Christian world.

The first obstacle comes from modern Christianity itself, which has become uncertain about its right and power to be the dominating spirit even of our own western, or

so-called Christian, culture. Where once religion was central in western culture and dominated it in its own interest, today province after province of general culture has become wholly independent of religion, and each province stands now in its own rights. The physical sciences were the first to gain their complete independence from religion, and this was in many ways a real gain for general culture, for science should stand in its own rights. It is, however, another matter when things have reached the point where religious leaders await anxiously the latest utterances of leading scientists in order to learn from them what is still valid, and what is not valid, in religion. Religion seems to have lost confidence in itself and meekly accepts whatever crumbs of recognition fall to it from the rich table of the physical sciences. The social sciences, too, are not only independent of religion and stand in their own rights, as they should, but they dictate to modern religion what ideals of the good life religion should hold. Even ethics is today wholly "emancipated" from religion and claims that it can be at its best only as it is entirely separate from, and independent of, religion—in spite of the fact that this ethic-without-religion draws largely for its content upon the achievements of ethical religion.

A further evidence of modern Christianity's uncertainty about its right and ability to dominate western culture is seen in the frequent statements made by Christian apologists to the effect that the religion of Jesus Christ and Christianity (meaning our general Christian culture) are two very different things, and that, therefore, in our attempts to spread the pure religion of Jesus Christ over the world through modern missions we should not attempt to spread our western culture. It is, of course, all too true that there is this difference; but in acknowledging it, and especially in magnifying it as is the present custom, there

is a real boomerang. For it implies that modern Christianity is a very weak religion, if it so utterly fails to dominate the cultural life of its own followers that the representatives of modern Christianity are not fit to bring to others the pure religion of Jesus; or it may mean in the eyes of the non-Christian world that, since true Christianity has failed after its history of two thousand years in the west to dominate western culture, it is not a religion adapted to be the core of any great culture. Our own position in this matter would be that, while we should admit both to ourselves and to others that we have fallen short of our Christian ideal, we should not belittle those great values of our western culture which are in a large measure a Christian product and which have now gone out all over the world and are reshaping the cultures and the religions of non-Christian peoples.

The second main obstacle that stands in the way of Christianity becoming the religion of what are now the non-Christian peoples is the fact that, whatever may have been the origin of these great cultural forces, they are today being accepted and more or less appropriated by peoples who have had a very different religious background from that of the western world. It is, of course, true that these new forces can not be harmonized with the traditional religions of these non-Christian peoples without seriously modifying these religions. But that is just what is now taking place. These religions are undergoing a real transformation. They are becoming semi-Christianized, and in that form they come to terms with these new forces; and these semi-Christianized religions, while, on the one hand, they bear eloquent testimony to the great influence of Christianity, may, on the other hand, become a real obstacle to Christianity, especially to a Christianity which is uncertain about itself and its right and power to inspire

and dominate the general culture of its own followers. Of course, the semi-Christianized religions would probably prove equally unable to dominate the growing world culture in their respective spheres, but they would at least reach a sort of *modus vivendi* for some time to come.

The upshot of the present situation would, then, seem to be that we shall see developing all over the world a common culture in which are gathered up certain values, including distinctively religious values and elements that are essentially Christian in their origin, but without this growing world culture being dominated by a religion that has the power to be its true spirit and unquestioned center. We therefore raise the question as to whether such a prospect can be satisfactory to any intelligent person who takes either religion or culture seriously, and is not content to let things merely drift.

It would seem that one of three attitudes might be taken toward the problem, the position chosen depending upon what religion and culture really mean to one.

There is, first, the position of those who would seek to promote a general world culture without connecting it up with religion in any form. This would be carrying still farther the general trend already so strong in the modern world, where the different interests and activities of life have already become so largely independent of religion, each activity or interest standing in its own sovereign right without any reference to religion, whether for its sanctions, its inspiration, or its interpretation of meanings and values. While those who take this position are usually (except in Russia) too cultured to be hostile to religion, they virtually ignore it as a vital factor in modern life. They believe in a general culture which shall have universal validity, but not because of its connection with anything like a

universal religion. If certain individuals still have interest in religion, that, they say, is a purely private matter which is not at all essential to a man of true culture.

But those who hold this position may have a second thought when they look a little more deeply into modern life. While it is true that province after province of human interest and achievement has become independent of religion and no longer looks to religion for its sanctions, it is also true that there is nothing which binds the various interests of the modern man together into an organic unity and gives to life a supreme meaning and a dominating purpose such as it had when man's various interests were inspired and dominated by religion. The truth is that our modern culture, just in proportion as it becomes independent of, and indifferent to, religion, loses its own unity, and because of its lack of unity it can hardly be said to be a true culture.

No one has given stronger expression to this lack of unity in the life of the modern man who is without religion than has Walter Lippmann in his *Preface to Morals*. "What was happening to painting is," he says, "precisely what has happened to all other separated activities of men. Each activity has its own ideal, indeed a succession of ideals, for with the dissolution of the supreme ideal of service to God, there is no ideal which unites them all, and sees them in order. Each ideal is supreme within a sphere of its own. There is no point of reference outside which can determine the relative value of competing ideals. The modern man desires health, he desires money, he desires power, beauty, love, truth, but which he shall desire the most, since he can not pursue them all to their logical conclusion, he no longer has any means of deciding. His impulses are no longer parts of one attitude toward life; his ideals are no longer in a hierarchy under one lordly ideal.

They have become differentiated. They are free and they are incommensurable. The religious synthesis has dissolved. The modern man no longer holds a belief about the universe which sustains a pervasive emotion about his destiny; he no longer believes genuinely in any idea which organizes his interests within the framework of a cosmic order." As another writer has put it, "Life has many meanings and many values but no one meaning and no one dominating value."

While this statement about the modern man is too sweeping, it is true for most modern men, for whom religion no longer provides a supreme ideal and a unifying purpose. And since this is the truth about the modern world, it is more than doubtful whether that so-called common world culture about which we have been speaking can ever become a true culture, even though at present its major forces are disrupting the older regional cultures which had some sort of religion as their unifying power. It can not become a real culture, we believe, until at its heart is a religion that can inspire and dominate it.

A second position centers its interest almost wholly in religion, promoting a "pure and undefiled religion" while letting general culture largely take care of itself. General culture, according to this position, has always been a mixture of things good, bad and indifferent, and whatever new culture arises, even this so-called world culture, will probably be just such a mixture. The best that the man of religion can hope for is that the elements that are good will perhaps increase; for religion and culture belong to two separate spheres, which, in the very nature of the case, precludes the possibility of their having a common center. These two spheres, to be sure, may intersect in practical life, and at these points of intersection religion might seek

to influence culture; but religion must ever be on its guard lest it be drawn into an unholy alliance and be thus forced to compromise its own position.

This attitude might easily result in condemning religion to a place of insignificance for most men, especially in the modern world where there is already such a wide gap between religion and their other activities and interests. It plays right into the hands of those who say that religion has no vital place in a man's culture, not because it is too noble and pure, but because, as they claim, it deals too much with mere dreams and subjective desires. It is, of course, quite true that a religion which identifies itself too readily with a given culture thereby shows its own weakness and futility. A vital religion must ever stand for its own verities and spiritual realities if it would either maintain itself or seriously influence any given culture. But when religion holds itself too aloof from general culture most men will calmly ignore it.

Then, further, how can religion make good its claim that it stands for truth and eternal values, if its truths and values are not integrated into the rest of man's legitimate experience? The mere claim that it is a divine revelation is not very convincing in a world where there are other religions making similar claims. Religion must vindicate itself by its fruits, and these fruits must show themselves, at least in part, in general culture. Thus, if Christianity is to become increasingly the world religion, it can not stand aloof from those great forces which are today tending toward a sort of world culture.

The third possible position we have already intimated in what has been said above, namely, that while religion must stand in its own rights and, on the one hand, must deal with eternal verities, it must, on the other hand, re-

late these with persistent zeal to every phase of man's life. Even though essential religious truths come through God's revelation of Himself, as Christianity holds, these truths are nevertheless repeatedly conditioned by the cultural values which make up so much of the life of mankind to whom this revelation comes. Undoubtedly religion must first incarnate itself in the lives of individuals, and such individuals form a sort of brotherhood which has a unity of life all its own, as is the case in an ideal Christian church; but this group life must in turn make itself felt in the general cultural life that surrounds it. Any religion that aspires to become the religion of mankind in the modern world will have to relate itself most positively to those forces which today are so tremendously reshaping human life everywhere. Not that religion must accept all that these forces stand for, but it must make use of them and transform them until they become more worthy vehicles of its own spirit and aims.

But before religion—and by religion we here mean Christianity—can fulfil this high mission, it will be necessary that its representatives gain a far clearer insight into the nature of the problems involved. There must be a deeper insight along three main lines. First, there must be a clarification of what is essentially Christianity. Secondly, there is need for a better understanding of the non-Christian religions and the relationship of the values in these to essential Christianity. In this field we have now passed from the old extreme which saw no values at all in non-Christian religions to the other extreme which sees no difference between them and Christianity. And, in the third place, we need some clarification of the relationship between essential religion and the other interests and activities of man that make up our common cultural life. Clarity of thought along these three lines is peculiarly

needed today when, as we have tried to show, there is the gradual development of a sort of common culture, but, on the other hand, there is so much confusion in the field of religion, and when even Christianity, which should become the very core of this broader culture, is so uncertain of its own essentials and so apologetic in dominating even our so-called Christian culture of the west.

A HYMN TO AMON-RE ON A TABLET FROM THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK

BY KEITH C. SEELE

IN SPITE of our title, this hymn has not been preserved to us on an actual tablet.* So far as the author knows, no example of such inscribed tablets has yet been unearthed in Egypt. Those that were made and engraved for ancient Egyptian kings have gone the way of most of the treasures of antiquity, having become ages ago a part of the loot of those pillagers whose unremitting activities have robbed us of most of the records and works of art of the ancient world.

It is known from other sources, however, that the kings of Egypt employed inscribed tablets of gold and silver and copper to honor the gods. Some of these, in fact, are mentioned in another document dating from the same period as the hymn. In Papyrus Harris (pl. VI, 5), Ramses III says (the document was actually prepared by his son Ramses IV, who puts the speech into the mouth of his deceased father): "I made for thee (Amon-Re)

* The hymn to Amon-Re discussed here forms part of a large body of Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs which are being published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in a series of folio volumes. The Egyptian text of the hymn will appear on Plates 22 and 23 of *Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Temples of Karnak*, vol. I, II, *The Temples of Ramses III*, which will appear in 1935. Permission to publish for the first time the text and translation of the hymn has been given to the writer by his chief, Professor Harold H. Nelson, Director of the Epigraphic Survey Expedition of the Oriental Institute in Luxor, Egypt. The drawings (Plate 23 corresponds to our Figures 3 and 4) were made by Mr. J. A. Chubb of the Epigraphic Survey.

great tablets ('wtj.w) of gold in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, bearing my praises." Again (pl. VI, 7): "I made for thee great tablets ('n.w) of silver in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, carved with the graver's tool, bearing the decrees and the inventories of the houses and temples which I made in Egypt, during my reign on earth."*

It is quite apparent that these two quotations from Papyrus Harris employ two different words for "tablet," of which the latter is the one used in line 1 of our Figure 4 to designate our tablet. Professor Breasted points out† that this word refers to a larger type of tablet than the other, and quotes pl. XIII b of Papyrus Harris to show that Ramses III's gifts to Amon-Re there summarized contain an 'wtj of silver weighing about $19\frac{1}{3}$ dbn, and two 'n.w of silver weighing each a little more than $143\frac{1}{2}$ dbn. He recalls also the fact that Ramses II's great treaty with the king of the Hittites was likewise engraved on an 'n of silver. In Papyrus Harris the word 'n is used to designate only tablets of silver and copper, while 'wtj alone is employed with reference to tablets of gold. This is a fact which may be applied with some significance to the present case. Examination of the word nb, "gold," in line 1 of Figure 4 (immediately to the right of the ring handle of the tablet), will reveal that the sign is considerably damaged, with nothing but the top line of the hieroglyph remaining. The drawing is at fault in not showing also that the wall surface above and at the center of this line is likewise broken to such an extent that the nb sign might well have been combined with the hieroglyph for *h*d to compose the word *h*d for "silver." My attention has been directed by my colleague, Dr. Siegfried Schott, to

* Breasted, *Ancient Records*, § 202.

† *Ibid.*, § 202, note d.

an inscription in the temple of Edfu,* which mentions the ritual to be read from a tablet ('*n*') of silver on entering the stairway that leads to the roof. At Dendera, however, similar ritual tablets ('*n.w*') appear to have been made of both silver and gold.†

If we should therefore designate our tablet with the hymn to Amon-Re a "Tablet of Gold," as will be the case in *The Temples of Ramses III at Karnak*, the evidence outlined in the previous paragraph, both documentary and epigraphic, must be cited as pointing to the equal or greater possibility that the tablet was made of silver, and not of gold.

Curiously enough, there are two copies of our hymn preserved on the temple wall (cf. Figures 1 and 2, 3 and 4), one of which comprises the hymn alone (Figures 2 and 4), while the other is part of a much longer inscription, of which the hymn itself embraces only the first ten and one-third columns. The longer text is carved in thirty vertical columns, and occupies a space on the wall about twelve feet in height and fifteen feet in length. The little representation of the tablet, on the other hand, occupies but a small corner taken out of the longer inscription (beneath columns 17-22), and consists of seventeen horizontal lines (including the title of the inscription) of exceedingly small hieroglyphs. A careful comparison of the two versions of the hymn (best conducted in Figures 3 and 4) reveals the obvious fact that one is practically a word for word transcription of the other, or that both were copied on to the wall from the same hieratic original.

There are in all some sixty-odd variations between the two versions of the text. When one considers the fact

* Cf. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, II, 457.

† Cf. passage quoted in Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch*, I, 192.

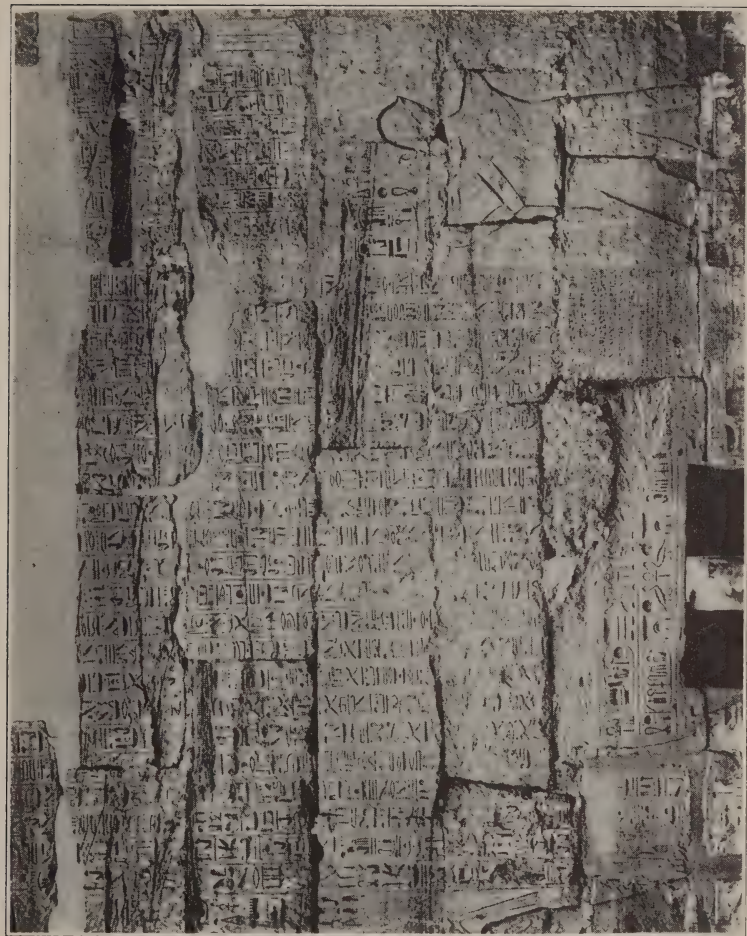


Figure 1. Portion of the temple wall showing both inscriptions.

that the ancient Egyptians possessed no set system of orthography or even a standard and universally accepted grammar, it is not surprising that different copies of a given inscription should display the most marked discrepancies. Similar circumstances obtained in the English language itself until the middle of the eighteenth century and the advent of the Johnson dictionary. Nearly half of these variations in our two parallel texts—at least twenty-eight of them—were consciously employed by the ancient outline draftsman who laid out the inscription on the wall, as being more suitable for a record carved in horizontal lines. The most frequent example of this type of variation is the use of the owl for *m*, in place of the long, low rib (?) which is commonly employed in vertical inscriptions. It occurs ten times in our text, and thus comprises nearly one-sixth of all the variations between the two versions.

Some of the other differences are less easily explained. One would expect, for example, that the small inscription on the tablet, with the exceedingly scanty space assigned to it on the wall, would contain numerous contracted writings of words in order to save room. There are no fewer than seventeen words thus written in the inscription. But, on the other hand, there are sixteen examples of more expanded spellings of words which fully neutralize the gain made in the other cases. A few of the expansions, it is true, can be explained by the greater adaptability of the variant spelling to the horizontal arrangement of the text, as has already been suggested above, just as also a few of the more contracted writings may have been adopted for the same reason. Nevertheless, it must be concluded that not a few examples of this type of variation must be accounted for by that lack of a definite system of orthography which has already been mentioned. In a vertical column of text it is more convenient to write the word 'nh

with the phonetic *n* and *h*, while they may readily be omitted when the word occurs in a horizontal line, as respectively in column 4 of the longer, and line 7 of the shorter, of the inscriptions under discussion. But there is no adequate reason to explain why one should write the word *ph.tj*, "strength," with a single lion head and the phonetic complement *tj* in a vertical inscription, but with two heads and the letter *t* only in a horizontal one (column 7 and l. 12, respectively), unless, of course, it is assumed, as is quite possible, that the two inscriptions were laid out on the wall by different draftsmen, each of whom followed his individual idiosyncrasies in the spelling of certain words. In such a case two different draftsmen would doubtless transcribe the same hieratic original differently, and the possibility must ever remain open that this fact may account for a number of the discrepancies between the two versions of the hymn.

It is perhaps worth while to call attention to a few other variations of a different character. In three cases, the little hymn on the tablet employs a more correct writing of a word or construction than does the longer inscription. Only one example will be mentioned, in which the tablet correctly writes a word with its determinative followed by the plural strokes, while the parallel for reasons of space or through carelessness on the part of the draftsman wrongly inserts the plural strokes before the determinative (*hrd.w*, "children," in column 10 and l. 17).

There are four places in the tablet where it appears that an error was made in copying the inscription from the original manuscript, so that either an actual mistake in grammatical construction or a change of meaning was the result. The most outstanding of these occurs in column 10 and l. 16. The former is evidently the correct version, for it reads with the characteristic personal and

intimate concept of the immanence of Amon-Re which distinguishes the little hymn: "Thou comest to him (the loyal Amon worshipper) as the Nile, in order to provision his community." The altered reading on the tablet, however, omits in the first clause the suffix of the verb, as well as the preposition *m*, and yields a somewhat different shade of meaning: "The Nile cometh to him, in order to provision his community." The former version would seem much more appropriate to a psalm than the latter, especially in a context filled with intimate expressions of Amon's loving-kindness to his worshippers.*

It is quite obvious that an article of this character cannot discuss in detail all the problems involved in the comparison of two parallel inscriptions. A few specific cases have been mentioned in illustration of the findings which have resulted from our study of the text. In general, it seems safe to state that the long inscription shown in Figures 1 and 3 is nearer to the original than the other, or possibly even that the text on the tablet was actually copied from the first part of the longer one.† Certainly a large number of the discrepancies between the two point to the former as the better text, since the writings of the words are more inclined to be normal than is the case in the version of the hymn carved on the little tablet.

The difference between the length of the two inscriptions, or rather the fact that the vertical text continues for nearly twenty columns after the conclusion of the parallel, raises the inevitable question as to whether the longer document was not simply intended to be the contents of both sides of the tablet. This could not have been

* Cf. p. 240, with Note 53.

† I mean that the inscription on the original tablet was first transferred to the wall, as shown in Figures 1 and 3, and later copied from it to the little tablet below, perhaps through the medium of a hieratic transcription.

true if it may be assumed that the portion of the hymn which was on the obverse of the original tablet is the same in content and length as we have on the little tablet of the temple wall. The latter occupies the first ten and one-third columns, or exactly seven-sixteenths, of the longer text. Now if seven-sixteenths more is measured off in the long inscription, it would reach as far as the end of column 22, which from considerations of space would have to be the termination of the reverse of the tablet, and a section corresponding to columns 23-30, inclusive, could not possibly have been accommodated on it. It is difficult to believe that such a long section of the inscription could have been crowded on the tablet in addition to the amount admitted by the space available. It is conceivable, of course, that the division point on the original tablet fell later in the inscription, so that a more nearly equal portion of it was engraved on each side. In such matters the ancient Egyptians were seldom mathematically accurate.

However this may have been, there is a definite break in the flow of thought and style of writing at the end of the inscription on the tablet, which marks it off quite definitely from the continuation of the text in columns 11-30 of the longer inscription. The former through its frequent employment of *nb*, "every," in verse after verse, is manifestly universal in its scope.* It describes the blessings that come to *every* man (with particular reference to kings, it must be granted) who is loyal to his god. This universality ceases, however, with that portion of the text which also appears on the tablet, and the continuation degenerates into the more conventional recital of the king's benefactions to Amon-Re which is characteristic of

* This is especially apparent in lines 13-17; see my translation below, pp. 238 ff.

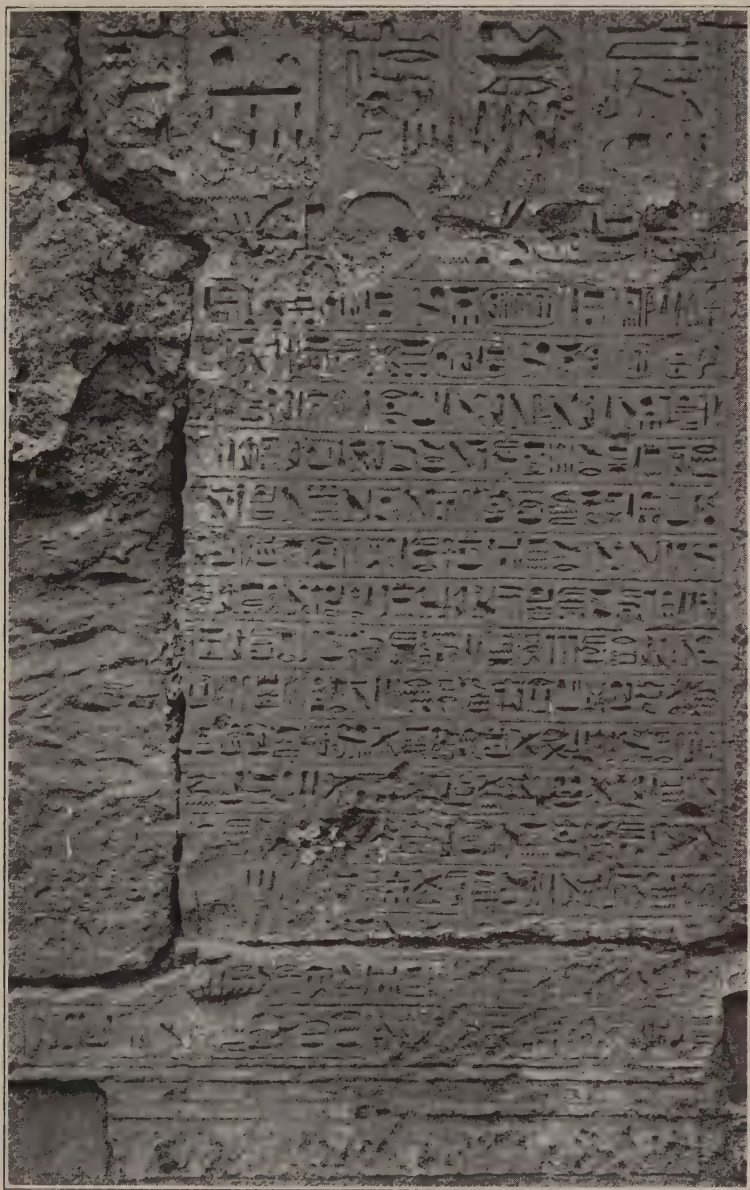


Figure 2. The tablet containing the hymn.

Papyrus Harris and the long temple inscriptions of the period.*

It is not in itself impossible that the long inscription consisted of two distinct phases, one of which was a relatively general paean of praise of Amon-Re, pointing out the divine favors which result from a king's loyalty to his god, while the other in describing the specific acts of Ramses III in service of Amon-Re intended to assert that monarch's claim to the promised rewards. In a general way each of the two sides of the original tablet would then have been devoted to the respective divisions of the text; and if the inequality in length of the two portions can be explained satisfactorily, this would perhaps constitute the best solution of the problem. It at least avoids the dilemma of leaving the remaining portion of the longer inscription in the situation of a headless body. So different, however, is the character of the two texts that the passage beginning with *h.t.j šsp šn.nw š r-^c nhh*, in the second third of column II, can be regarded as scarcely more auspicious as a transitional clause than as the introduction to an independent inscription. It is in a hopelessly obscure manner that this clause and those which immediately follow form some sort of a connecting link between the little psalm of praise and Ramses III's definite recital of his specific acts of loyalty to Amon-Re. I am obliged to dismiss it for the present, since my discussion is confined to the little tablet with its hymn.

For purposes of study it is gratifying that two copies of the hymn are preserved to us on the temple wall, as they make possible reciprocal restorations of the lacunae. Nevertheless, the damaged state of both inscriptions, and

* Cf. *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138, and the prospective *Karnak* volume, pl. 34 A and 35 A.

the fact that many of the signs were modeled only in a plaster surface that has either disappeared altogether or remains in distorted or fragmentary condition, conspire to leave not a few exasperating gaps that are common to both versions, with the result that a complete text cannot be recovered. The line-numbers given below belong to the version in horizontal lines. Restorations from the other version have been placed within brackets.*

THE INSCRIPTION

The Title

(1) [Copy of the inscription]¹ which was on the tablet of 'silver'^{1,2} [which] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon, [made]³ for his father Amon.

Introduction

(2) [Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of King]-ship,⁴ King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two

* For the convenience of the student, the artist has restored in the lacunae of Figure 3 those portions of the inscription which are supplied in the tablet (Figure 4). For the purpose of this article it would have been more appropriate to restore the lacunae on the drawing of the tablet itself (Figure 4); it should be understood, however, that Figures 3 and 4 are both made from drawings which will appear in a later Oriental Institute publication.

¹ Reading in this lacuna, which of course does not occur in the parallel on Figure 3: *mj.t.t n sš* (or *md.w*); cf. "Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II und des Chetiterkönigs" in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, 5, *Tafel* II, line 4, and *Tafel* XIII, lines 30-31.

² The material of which the tablet was made has been discussed on pp. 224 f. above. The possibility remains that it might have been gold.

³ Reading *ir*, "made," in the lacuna.

⁴ The available space at the beginning of this line practically assures our reading: *'nh Hr: k' nht*, ³ *nšwjt*, without the date and introductory phrase customary at the beginning of historical inscriptions and which is used also to introduce column 1 of the parallel in Figure 3. It does not seem possible to me that the lacuna could have contained more than the suggested reading; besides, there is really no reason for a date on a tablet

Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,⁵ Beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods; Gifted with Life.

(3) [The beginning of pouring out praises]⁶ and honors of the Lord of the Gods, which the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,⁵ made for his august father, (4) [Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.⁷

The Situation

I say: O my Lord], my [God],⁸ I cause One⁹ to hearken unto my speech before thee,
While One⁹ (attendeth) in silence;¹⁰

containing such a text as the present one, particularly if the content were confined to the king's hymn of praise to his god. Comparison with the parallel indicates that the royal titulary has also been reduced on the tablet from five to three of the official names.

⁵ Ramses III. Breasted's dates for his reign are 1198-1167 B. C.

⁶ Cf. Figure 3, beginning of column 2; it would probably have been safe to restore the determinatives of the widgeon and the speaking man for *wwj* in the short lacuna near the top of the column.

⁷ The name of Amon-Re is lost also in the parallel (Figure 3, column 2). Lack of space on the tablet points to the likelihood that the second half of the god's title, *hntj ip.t sw.t*, "Foremost of Karnak," was omitted (cf. Oriental Institute Publications, *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 101, line 1).

⁸ The introductory address is preserved in the parallel; cf. Figure 3, column 2.

⁹ The use of the impersonal *tw* seems to imply humility of spirit in approaching the god, and consequent diffidence on the king's part to introduce his address to Amon-Re by direct means of the pronoun of the second person. Ramses III is not commanding, but rather petitioning, the god to hear his psalm of praise. That the subject refers to Amon and not to the speaker is carefully shown by the addition of the god hieroglyph after *tw* in each case (cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gram.*, 2nd edition, § 270, end).

¹⁰ The elaborate introductory appeal to the god is reminiscent of the first verses of Psalms 5, 55, and 88, while the general atmosphere of humility is heightened by the use of the indefinite pronoun mentioned in the preceding note. Most Egyptian religious texts lack this note. For a noteworthy exception, however, compare Erman, *Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt*, 1911; also treated by Gunn in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III, 81 ff., "The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt."

The Ennead¹¹ together (5) [are in obeisance before thee,
And the —¹² are] in rejoicing and exultation before thy
beautiful face.

Descriptive Praise of Amon-Re

I begin, saying:

Great art thou as Lord of the Gods,

As the Ram mysterious of faces and great of renown;¹³

Whose name has been hidden (6) [and his image concealed,¹⁴

¹¹ The Ennead was the original group of nine primeval gods, which later became amplified to meet the increasing needs of the pantheon.

¹² The subject of this nominal sentence is lost in both versions of the text, and the parallel in Figure 3, column 3, shows only traces which I have been unable to identify. The vertical stroke at the left may be slightly too close to the left margin line in the drawing; the smaller one to its right seems certain, but whether it is part of the same sign is not clear. The trace on the right may well belong to the god (or woman) hieroglyph. The usual context, with following *hj hnw*, of *psd.t*, "Ennead," *ntr.w nb.w*, "all the gods," or *b.w P Nhn*, "the souls of Pe and Nekhen" (cf. E. Meyer, in *ZAS*, 15, p. 149; H. O. Lange, *Der Magische Papyrus Harris*, p. 18; Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oasis*, pl. xxv, l. 10, respectively) appears definitely ruled out by the traces described.

¹³ Amon is very frequently depicted with the head of a ram; in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 239a (tomb of Ramses XI), Amon-Re-Harakhti is shown with four ram's heads, two pointed in each direction; while his sacred barque is usually represented with a ram's head at prow and stern. His mysterious character is commonly referred to in the literature; cf. the Leiden hymn in *ZAS*, 42, p. 30 (III, 23), p. 32 (IV, 11), p. 33 (IV, 12), especially p. 34 (IV, 19), where he is said to be "too mysterious to reveal his renown": *sw šw r kf šfj.t.f*. In the magical Pap. Harris (ed. Lange), p. 39, l. 10, he is "the most mysterious of mysterious ones, whose secrets are unknowable": *šw šw.w, n rh šw.f*. The epithet "great of renown" is normally employed with reference to the ram-headed Amon (cf. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, Berlin, 1929, p. 23).

¹⁴ Most of the lacuna is supplied from the parallel, Figure 3, column 3, in which the text has been restored, with the exception of the word for "concealed," which was probably *šh.p* or some synonym beginning with *š*. The "hidden" or secret nature of Amon is a favorite theme of the hymns, for it is based on the Egyptian love of punning, and the verb *imn*, written the same as the name of the god, has the meaning "to be hidden." Amon's hidden character since the creation is described at length in the Leiden hymn, III, 23 to IV, 20 (*ZAS*, 42, pp. 30-34). Cf. also the great

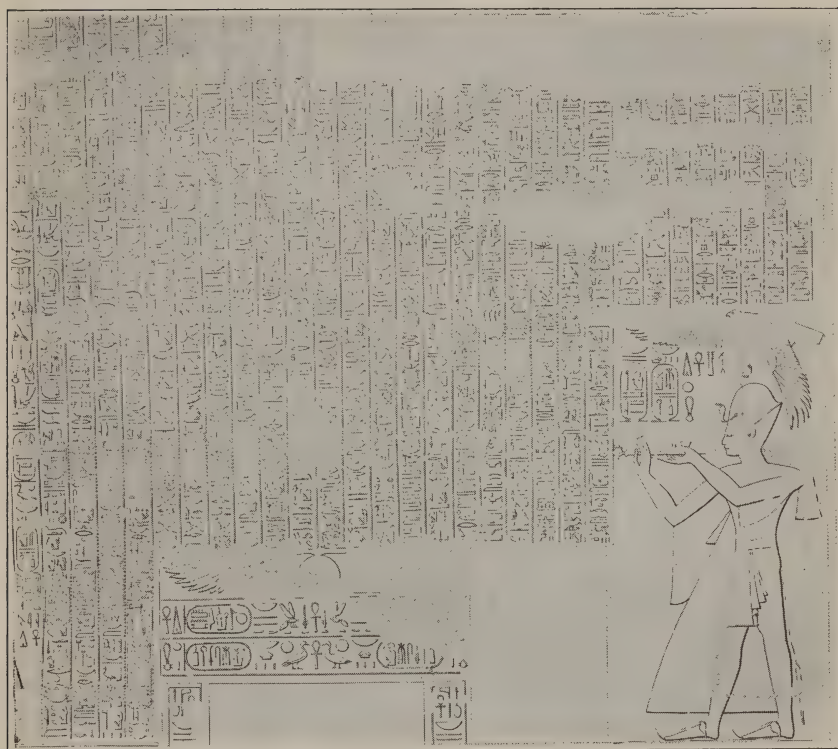


Figure 3. Drawing of the long inscription.

And none hath known] his form, from the beginning,
As thou didst appear in the Deep and shine with (thy)
rays.¹⁵

Thou givest light¹⁶ to every eye that was in darkness;

Thy complexion is (that of the) sunlight;¹⁷

(7) [And thy candent breath is the 'source of life,'¹⁸

All kinds of precious stones are ming]led¹⁹ in thy frame;

Thy body is breath to every nose.²⁰

Cairo hymn, most conveniently published in Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, Paris 1875, especially p. 14 (Pl. V, 3-4).

¹⁵ In the beginning, Amon-Re (here definitely conceived of as sun god) came into existence out of the primeval flood. He was self-created and the source of the entire creation. Compare the passages mentioned in the preceding note for accounts of the god's origin; cf. also Ps. 90: 1-2.

¹⁶ While the tablet has *šhḏ.n.k* in this passage, the parallel in Figure 3, column 3 shows the more strictly correct *šḏm.f* form of the verb, as I have translated it (but cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gram.*, 2nd edition, §266).

¹⁷ The Leiden hymn tells us (IV, 17) that Amon's complexion is unknown, and in another passage (V, 19) that it is his soul (*b¹.f*) which is the sunlight (cf. Erman, *Der Leidener Amonshymnus*, 1923, XI, p. 66, 600). One cannot help preferring the concept that his light is the soul of the sun god to Gardiner's interpretation that his soul is Shu, and his heart, [Tefnut (??)] (brackets and interrogation points are Gardiner's, *ZAS*, 42, p. 39).

¹⁸ The text is completely preserved in the parallel, beginning of column 4 on Figure 3. '*nḥ.t* as "source of life" is a conjecture based on the Leiden hymn (V, 22, *op. cit.*, p. 39), where Amon "maintains what exists; he inspires breath in every nose," *š'nḥ wn.swt; hh.f ḫ'w r fnd nb.t*. It is possible, of course, that the word '*nḥ.t* has some entirely different significance, but the conjecture is tempting in view of the meaning of the verbal root which it resembles. The word *hh*, "breath," is very frequently used of destructive force, as in *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 82, column 29, but in the present passage the significance is undoubtedly that of a benevolent manifestation of the god, as in *Med. Hab.* I, pl. 28, column 45.

¹⁹ *bb* is normally used in texts of the Twentieth Dynasty with reference to abstract qualities, such as strength and love and beauty. That Amon-Re's frame is mingled with precious stones appears to imply confusion between the dazzling sun god, mysterious and unknowable of form, and his elaborately adorned statues in the temples.

²⁰ One of the most frequent representations of the gods in the temples depicts them in the act of holding the sign of life (*nḥ*) to the nose of the king (cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 139, 141, 151). In the Amarna heresy, Akhnaton likewise represents Aton with rays ending in hands which regularly extend in each the same sign to the nose (or in the vicinity) of the king and other members of his family (cf. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, passim*).

One breatheth from thee to live.

The taste of thee is the Nile.²¹

Thou art anointed with radiance.²²

[Thou art] beneficial (8) — — —

— — — — — every — — — in — — —

— — — — — love.²³

One goeth and cometh upon thee in thy form of Geb,

the (most) virile of the gods;²⁴

For thou wert manifested as Min, lord of virility.²⁵

The goddesses (9) [dance and 'clap (their) hands];²⁶

²¹ The Egyptian peasant of today prefers Nile water to any other for drinking purposes, because he regards it as sweeter and more agreeable to the taste.

²² This verse apparently belongs to the preceding section, which is devoted to Amon-Re as sun god. The previous line with its reference to the Nile must be considered as an interpolation, with the probability that a number of lines are lost with its context.

²³ The lacuna at the beginning of line 8 on the tablet coincides exactly with one in the longer inscription (Figure 3, column 4), though there are two signs preserved near the middle of the latter. As yet I have discovered no parallel that can be fitted to these traces. The Leiden hymn (III, 20) offers one clause that might be considered *à propos*: *ḥ r' m ḥt hr-n-hr*, "beneficial of utterance in the moment of turmoil"; it would, however, fill but a part of the lacuna, and would leave the remaining traces hanging in the air. It has no direct reference to the context, but it has already been pointed out that the text may well be corrupt in this passage.

²⁴ Geb is considered here the most virile (lit., the most "male") of the gods because he was the original male divinity and therefore the father of all, rather than through any concept of him as a procreative deity. Dr. Nelson reminds me that men come and go "upon" Geb, because he is the earth god.

²⁵ Lit. "lord of maleness." For an important discussion of the relation of Amon to the ithyphallic Min of Coptos, cf. Sethe, *Amon und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, p. 21, and especially his reference to Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oasis*, etc., pl. xxvii, column 37-38. The epithet "lord of virility" is elsewhere applied to Min, including at least one (unpublished) example in the temple of Luxor, which may have been the god's "harem."

²⁶ My translation must be regarded as extremely uncertain, not to say doubtful. Unfortunately, the lacuna on the tablet coincides in part with one in the parallel (Figure 3, column 5), so that only the subject of the sentence is completely preserved. The first infinitive, *ḥb.t*, "dance," is probable, though most of the *b* is missing, and there is room for difference of

For there was n]one that escaped¹ from thy hand,²⁷
 Since thou conductedst thyself from the midst of the Deep.

Amon as the Creator

The gods came forth from thy mouth,
 And mankind from thy eye;²⁸

(10) ———— 'upon thy hands.'¹ ²⁹

Thou madest time, and thou establishedst birth;
 Fate and fortune rest on thy decree.

opinion as to its position and shape. The verb *nhm*, "to jubilate" or "clap the hands," as I have rendered it, is decidedly questionable, doubly so through lack of corroborative parallels in the literature, which I have been unable to locate. If *nhm* were ever present on the wall, the *h* must have been on the same level with the *m* hieroglyph, of which we may have the trace shown on the drawing. The circular portion of a sign beneath it might have been the head of the sitting or speaking man, or of the woman with the tambourine (?), in which case the space to the left of the same would have been occupied by the sign for *w*, either the chick or the loop of rope. I must admit that the traces on the wall do not suggest the word *nhm*, and that some totally different word or expression may have been carved there. The proposed reading was suggested by the passage in Papyrus Harris I, pl. 22, l. 10.

²⁷ This reading is scarcely more satisfactory than that of the preceding verse. It assumes the loss of the negative *n* before the *s nb* after the lacuna, and employs a somewhat liberal interpretation of the meaning and construction of the participle *šd*. Further research will doubtless throw some light on the sense of this difficult passage.

²⁸ Among the numerous and often confused legends of creation in Egyptian religious literature are the accounts of the origin of Shu and Tefnut, who came forth from the mouth of Re, and of men and women, who issued as tears from his eyes. A full, but late, version of this legend is preserved in British Museum Papyrus 10188, published by Budge (with translation) in *Archaeologia*, vol. 52, part 2, pp. 393-608, and more recently (without translation) by R. O. Faulkner in the series *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, III, Brussels 1933. Cf. especially pl. 27, lines 2-3. Of great importance also in this connection is the account of the destruction of mankind in the tomb of Seti I (cf. *T. S. B. A.*, IV, folding plate A, columns 8-9); see also the Cairo hymn to Amon (Grébaut, *op. cit.*, VI, 3). The legends are discussed in English in Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Chapter I, and more completely in the new German edition of the same work, *Die Religion der Aegypter*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, chapters 5 and 6.

²⁹ This passage, with lacunae coinciding in both versions, remains for the present unintelligible to me.

The King's Religious Faith

There is no (other) god that is like unto thee,³⁰
 But only thou alone art he who made (all)³¹ that existeth.
 (11) [I comprehend thy nature, and I know] thy
 [form]:³²
 I am persuaded³³ that thou art divine beyond any god;³⁴
 And I have experienced the benefits of him that walketh on
 thy way.³⁵
 He that seeth thy court(s) hath health and life (12)
 ['every day',³⁶
 And every one that cometh to thy city], he [shineth];³⁷
 Thou makest him to say: How pleasant indeed is the lot of
 him whom thou hast touched!³⁸
 He that confideth himself to thy strength, he thinketh:
 The one that 'batheth' himself (13) — — —;³⁹

³⁰ Cf. *Psa.* 86:8-10.

³¹ As often in Egyptian texts, the sense rendered by the English "all" is implied in the context.

³² The reading is practically complete in the parallel (Figure 3, column 6).

³³ Reading *šš.kwj*, as it is correctly written in the variant (Figure 3, column 6). The text on the tablet omits in error the ending of the pseudo-participle and the following *m*.

³⁴ The reader will be impressed by the similarity between this verse and certain passages in the Psalms; cf. 95:3; 97:9; 128:1.

³⁵ One is reminded by this section of our hymn of the famous hymn to the Aton in the tomb of Ai at Amarna; cf. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, VI, pl. xxvii (easily available in Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 1905, pp. 371-376), especially the concluding portion.

³⁶ Unfortunately the lacuna at the beginning of l. 12 corresponds in part to that at the top of column 7 in the parallel. It is obvious that there were several additional words in the verse, or that the arrangement of the words was somewhat different from our restoration in Figure 3, which was based on the tendency to a relatively crowded arrangement of signs in this inscription. My translation is a conjecture, and in presenting it I assume that *šnb* occupied the entire width of the column and was followed by the words 'nh r' nb, which if written normally would nicely fill the available space.

³⁷ It is perhaps justifiable to construe the word "shineth" in the sense of "flourisheth," after the manner of *Psa.* 16:11.

³⁸ Cf. *Psa.* 16:5-6; 144:15.

³⁹ The lacunae in the parallel versions of our hymn coincide with exasperating regularity. In this example it would appear that while only a single

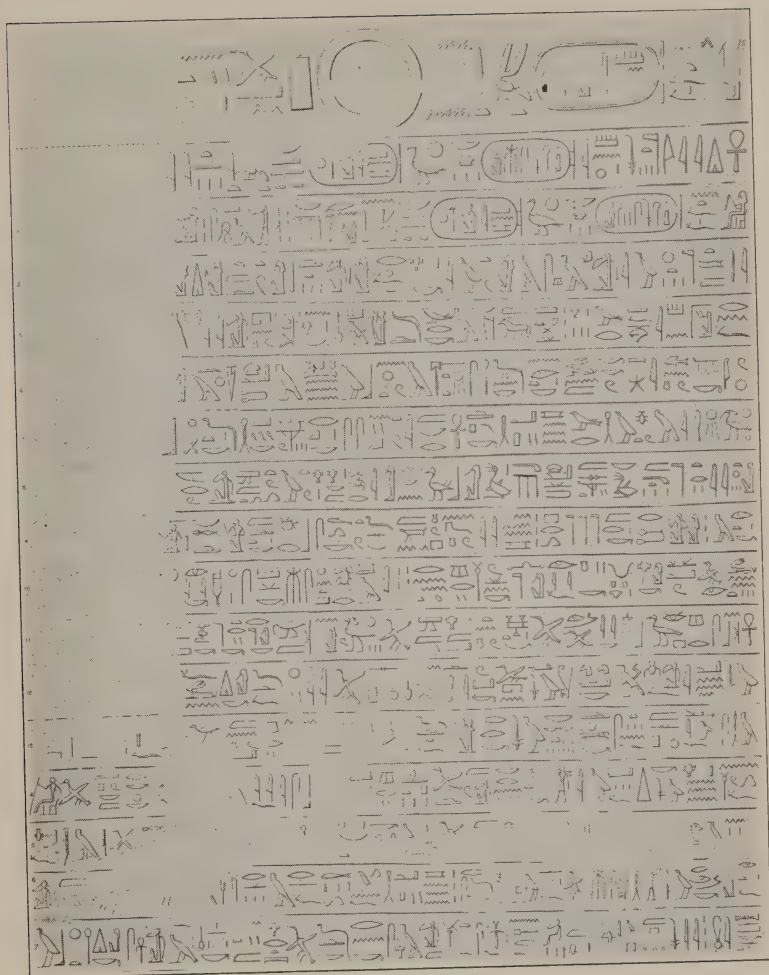


Figure 4. Drawing of the small tablet.

When he sl[eepesth, thou] art his ke[eper].⁴⁰

He that findeth ⁴¹ ——— ——— ———

Every land is beneath his sandals.⁴²

He that saith "My Father" to thee, he⁴³ is Lord of the
Nine Bows;

And thou overthrowest them for him at once, while he
sitteth (at rest).⁴⁴

(14) Every one that seeketh refuge in thy presence, [he
shall not 'perish'],⁴⁵

But his throne abideth in peace.⁴⁶

Every one that exalteth thy name, thou art his shepherd;
Thou makest him to be obedient,⁴⁷ (15) and his heart is
joyful.

group of hieroglyphs is lost on the tablet, the parallel must have sustained the loss of at least twice the amount, unless the individual signs were very widely spaced. The word *i'j*, "wash," or "bathe," is probably intended here in a figurative sense.

⁴⁰ This fine verse is reminiscent of *Psa. 112*. The reading is clear in Figure 3, column 7.

⁴¹ The verb is perhaps *gmj*, "find," though the last sign in Figure 3, column 7 is undoubtedly an *m*. I do not understand the text in this damaged passage.

⁴² It was the chief ambition of every Egyptian king to feel his enemies beneath his feet (cf. *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 111 for a graphic representation of the foes of Ramses III).

⁴³ Here the tablet is in error in omitting the *m* of identity, which is properly included in the parallel inscription (Figure 3, column 8).

⁴⁴ Amon-Re would thus fight for the loyal king; cf. *Psa. 2:7-9*. The Nine Bows are the proverbial foes (not always nine in number, and sometimes including Upper and Lower Egypt themselves!) of the Egyptians. Cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, Leipzig, 1893, ch. 2.

⁴⁵ Though the reading is supplied from Figure 3, column 8, the translation is largely guesswork. Whether we have *nn fhbj.f*, an otherwise unknown derivative of *fh*, "destroy," or "perish," as suggested in Gardiner's and Sethe's copy of the inscription for the Berlin Egyptian dictionary, or some equally unknown word *hbj* or *hbjj*, in the construction *n n.f hbjj*, "he hath (lit. to him is) no perishing," I am unable at present to say. The general idea of the verb is assured by the context.

⁴⁶ Similar ideas abound in the Psalms; cf. 2:12c; 17:7; 142:5-7; 144:1-2.

⁴⁷ Literally, "thou putttest him on the water of him who commissioneth him." *wḏ.f* is here wrongly used for *wḏ.t.f*; cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, II, p. 53.

He that putteth [his trust in thee,⁴⁸

Lo, the truth of thy eye is] upon [him] each day, and
thou preservest him.⁴⁹

[Every] one that [con]ducteth himself in [loyalty to
thee],⁵⁰

—— ——— ——— ——— lacking (16) in anything.⁵¹

[Every] one [that] —— —— is supplied with fish and
fowl,⁵²

For <thou> come<st> to him <as> the Nile,⁵³ to provision
his community.

He that turneth to behold thee, his eye (17) gloweth;
Thou makest him to be sated⁵⁴ with thy beauty, which is
in heaven.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Lit., "he that filleth his heart with thee." Cf. Figure 3, column 9 for the reading.

⁴⁹ Cf. Psa. 28:7; 34:6-8; 112:7-8.

⁵⁰ Literally, "every one that goeth on thy flood"; this metaphor is very similar to the one at the end of line 14, with the use of *mhj*, "flood," instead of the more usual *mw*, "water."

⁵¹ Most of line 15 is lost in a crack between two blocks of stone, and the passage unfortunately corresponds with a damaged one in the parallel (Figure 3, column 9). The clause begins with an *n*, but the next trace is uncertain. At the end of the lacuna occurs the word *h'* (*hl*) of the *Wörterbuch* (Erman-Grapow, *op. cit.*, III, p. 12). One is reminded of the description of the city Per-Ramses in Papyrus Anastasi, III, p. 2, l. 10, where we are told of it: "One rejoiceth to dwell in it, and one cannot say of (?) it that (anything) is lacking." Cf. Maspero's discussion of this word in Chassinat, *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, V, p. 72, and (for translation of the description of Per-Ramses in Pap. Anastasi) *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, V, p. 185. It is of interest to note a similar concept in Psa. 34:10.

⁵² The word *rif* refers to the game of the Nile, and includes both the feathered and the finny creation.

⁵³ I translate the variant reading of the parallel (cf. Figure 3, column 7), which is undoubtedly the correct one. As carved on the tablet, the inscription reads: "the Nile cometh to him," *iw n.f h'pj*, etc., a version which is obviously less appropriate to the context than the other, though in the end there is but little difference in the meaning.

⁵⁴ I have held to the absurdly mixed metaphor of the original.

⁵⁵ Or "with thy heavenly beauty"; such phrases with *ntj* occur frequently in the Egyptian as substitutes for adjectives.

Every one that speaketh thy name is one that possesseth
 wisdom in his office,
 Which⁵⁶ he shall bequeath to [his] children — — —,⁵⁷
 They are the seed of kings, and so wilt thou sustain them.⁵⁸

Thus ends the hymn on the little tablet. Whether it may be assumed that its continuation and conclusion were contained on the reverse of the original tablet of silver (or gold) from which it was copied on the wall of Ramses III's temple at Karnak, and that they are still preserved in columns 11-30 of Figure 3, are problems which may never be settled. I have discussed them only very briefly, and perhaps not satisfactorily, at the beginning of this article. I hope that further research will eventually solve some of the questions that I must at present leave open. My purpose in presenting this fragment of Egyptian praise is accomplished when I have offered it as a little tribute of gratitude and affection for my former teacher and my friend, to whom it is dedicated.

⁵⁶ The antecedent of the (English) relative is "office" rather than "wisdom."

⁵⁷ The suffix is partially preserved at the end of column 10 in Figure 3. As yet I have not identified the next group, part of which is damaged or entirely missing in both versions of the hymn.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Psa.* 25:12-13; 37:9; 89:26-29; 132:12. As in the biblical Psalms it is taught that God will perpetuate the line of the faithful, so in this little Egyptian psalm Amon-Re promises to maintain forever the house of those kings who are loyal to him. The parallelism of thought is striking indeed, though I have no intention of implying here or elsewhere in this article that there is interdependence between the two literatures. I believe, however, that a careful comparison of the passages that I have cited cannot fail to be of interest to students of the history of religion.

DAVID THE SLINGER

BY OVID R. SELLERS

IN CONSIDERING the story of David's victory over Goliath as it is told in I Sam. 17, there are two problems of paramount importance. First, how much reliability should we allow the account as it now appears? Is it pure fiction that was fabricated long after the time of David for the purpose of enhancing his reputation as a warrior? Is it an embellishment of a real episode in which David himself may or may not have played a part? Or, is it substantially trustworthy? Secondly, what are we to think of David on the basis of the picture of him that is presented in this story?

The value that we place on the reliability and accuracy of the narrative depends largely on personal prejudices and emotions. There are two main objections to taking it at its face value.

The first is the dubious character of parts of the narrative. According to I Sam. 16:14-23, David, already "skilful in playing and a mighty man of valor and a man of war and prudent in speech and a comely person," had previously been established as minstrel and armor-bearer to Saul—a picture which it is not easy to harmonize with that of the young son of Jesse who, according to I Sam. 17, left his sheep-herding to bring supplies from his father to his soldier brothers in the Vale of Elah, who was berated by his oldest brother Eliab for leaving the sheep and coming down to see the battle, who volunteered to meet the giant, who was bewildered by Saul's armor, and about

whose parentage Saul had to inquire. It would appear that regarding the introduction of David at Saul's court there are two separate traditions which can be harmonized only by rather violent emendations or rationalizations.

It is possible that David spent only a short time as Saul's harpist and armor bearer, after which he went back to tending his father's sheep, and that by the time of his appearance in the Vale of Elah, Saul, who was always of a capricious mind, had forgotten all about him. Those of us who have had experiences with high officials and politicians, ecclesiastical or civil, know that a ruler can easily obliterate the memory of an individual, even one who has rendered a service. But if David had been discharged from Saul's service, it is strange that no mention is made of this. Moreover, it is hardly likely that "a mighty man of valor and a man of war" would have disappeared from the royal retinue to turn up as an unknown shepherd boy.

The discrepancies between the two accounts were felt at an early date. The first Greek translators of the Old Testament either had only that in I Sam. 16:14-23 in their Hebrew manuscripts, or else they decided that this was the correct story and that the account in I Sam. 17:12-31, 55-57; 18:1-5 should be thrown out as unreliable; for the Codex Vaticanus omits these last sections. Evidently the men who were responsible for the Septuagint as found in the Codex Vaticanus considered the true account of David's entry into the service of Saul to be that of I Sam. 16:14-23, in which, upon the recommendation of one of Saul's servants, David was brought in to quiet the king's mental maladjustments by his personal charm and musical talent. The story of David's victory over Goliath, however, is in all the Greek manuscripts. So the reliability of the main story—that of the killing of the Philistine champion with

a slingshot—is not seriously hampered by the presence of some interwoven doubtful sections regarding the initial relationship between David and Saul.

The second objection has to do with the identity of the hero of the story. According to II Sam. 21:19 it was Elhanan the son of Jaere-oregim (emended to Jair by most scholars) the Bethlehemite who slew Goliath. Apologists have disposed of this contradiction in various more or less plausible ways. The Chronicler (I Chron. 20:5) eliminates it by having Elhanan kill Lahmi, the *brother* of Goliath. Whether the Chronicler was fortified by historical evidence or inserted the name of Lahmi merely for purposes of harmonization, it would be hard to say. Many scholars (*e.g.*, Michaelis, Thenius, Keil) have thought the statement in I Chronicles correct, and therefore have considered the omission of Lahmi in II Samuel to be due to a copyist's error; for this reason the translators of the Authorized Version inserted "the brother of" before Goliath in II Sam. 21:19.

Others (*e.g.*, John W. Halsey in his *Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible*, Andover, 1884) have shown that there might have been two Goliaths, and that Elhanan may have slain Goliath *junior*. Certainly the exploit of Elhanan is put by both II Samuel and I Chronicles late in David's career, after the men of David had told their king, "Thou shalt no more go out with us to battle, that thou quench not the lamp of Israel." If II Sam. 21:19 is not very much out of place, a feat performed by another man late in David's reign was in the process of time ascribed to David himself and put at the beginning of his public career. In spite of the opinions of many distinguished scholars, it is far from obvious that the killing of Goliath in I Sam. 17 and the killing of Goliath in II Sam. 21 are two varying

accounts of the same event, though much of the discussion has been based on this supposition.

That Elhanan and David were identical was suggested by St. Jerome. Boettcher, Sayce and others have elaborated this hypothesis by the added supposition that David's original name was Elhanan ("God has been gracious"), after the common pattern for Hebrew names of the day, and that he acquired the more unusual name David ("beloved") after attaining to his popularity and importance. Elissa, the Phoenician princess who according to tradition founded Carthage, in a similar manner received the name Dido, a Semitic name with the same root as David and also meaning "beloved."

Elmer Davis in his novel *Giant Killer* (New York, 1928) has Elhanan kill Goliath accidentally. The Israelite soldier, after an all-night drinking bout, gets lost and encounters Goliath, who has come to the brook for an early morning wash. In terror Elhanan stumbles against the giant, who trips and strikes his forehead on a sharp rock with fatal consequences—whereupon Elhanan sinks into a drunken stupor. The boy David, who had composed some very imaginative poetry about killing Goliath and then to his great dismay found himself actually assigned to that tremendous task, discovers the dead giant and the drunken Hebrew lying on the ground, cuts off the Philistine's head, carries it to the Israelite camp, and is hailed as the slayer of the formidable enemy. While admitting the free treatment of this episode, Davis in his author's note says: "The central fact is a commonplace of scholarship. All but Fundamentalists agree that the truth about Goliath is to be found in II Samuel 21:19, as correctly rendered in the Revised Version . . . I Samuel 17 is later legend."

The author, however, takes in too much territory with

his "all but Fundamentalists." Some of us who, though conservatively minded, yet are not Fundamentalists, prefer the explanation which takes the two episodes as two distinct stories dealing with the killing of two giant Philistines, the first by David and the second by David's soldier, Elhanan. Entirely plausible is the suggestion of A. R. S. Kennedy in the *New Century Bible* that the first giant was not Goliath, but a Philistine whose name has been lost. In the story he is called "the Philistine" nineteen times and "Goliath" only twice, and in both of these instances the personal name may be a gloss. The identification of David's giant with Elhanan's Goliath may have been due to a similarity in the description of their equipment; for the staff of the spear of each was "like a weaver's beam."

Be that as it may, it seems not quite fair to dispose of the whole David-Goliath chapter on the basis of the one Elhanan-Goliath verse. Taken by itself, there is nothing preposterous in the straightforward story of I Sam. 17.

But how are we to estimate the boy David on the basis of the picture of him in this chapter? I cannot agree with the adjective "beautiful" which is applied to the story by H. A. White in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; nor can I quite agree with my late teacher J. M. P. Smith, who said (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, LII. 2): "This is certainly a deed combining both courage and skill . . . David was only a youth at this time, with no experience in the art of war. Hence his volunteering to meet the giant in battle would have been an act of unparalleled daring."

I find myself much more in accord with the estimate of William Lyon Phelps in his *Reading the Bible*, where he relates his boyhood impressions as he perused the Old Testament. "Nor did I think highly," he says, "of David's

exploit in killing Goliath. All small boys like heavy-weight champions; and it may be I had a fondness for the big fellow. Anyhow, it seemed to me that David did not fight fairly. Goliath came out with the legitimate weapons for a stand-up fight; David stood at a safe distance and punctured his thick head with a slingshot. If he had missed the first time, he had four more stones to throw; and if he had failed to make a hit with any of them, he would doubtless have run away, and Goliath, encumbered with his heavy suit, would have found it quite impossible to catch him. I felt that David was something like a guttersnipe, who, afraid to fight with his fists, throws stones from a coign of vantage; or like a man with a magazine gun, taking advantage of a hippopotamus."

Professor Phelps, with his clear, boyish, poetic insight (unlike that of most of us, who in our imaginations have identified ourselves with David), has, I think, caught the true import of the story. The same view is emphasized by H. V. Morton in an article "On the Way to Galilee" in the London *Daily Herald* of June 12, 1934. "I have never until now felt sorry for Goliath! But, with all his size and strength, he had about as much chance against David as a man with a spear would have against a modern gunman. The modern sling, when wielded by a practiced hand, is a frightful weapon!"

This does not mean that David, or his biographer, thought that there was anything unethical in his treatment of his enemy. In early Israel any kind of fighting was fair and righteous if it was in the name of Yahweh and for His chosen people. The pious phrases of David, who came in the name of Yahweh of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, to kill and decapitate his opponent and to "give the carcasses of the host of the Philistines to the fowls and wild beasts, that all the earth may know that there is a

God in Israel," are not incongruous in the mouth of a man about to kill an adversary who has no chance. David was thoroughly justified by the standards of his day, and, indeed, by the standards of any warfare. He was fighting for God and country; so his business was to prevail.

But it is his technique that we are to admire, not his courage. He was braving no great danger in a personal encounter; he had no idea of meeting his adversary on equal terms. His sling was a formidable weapon. The stone that it threw was about the size of a baseball. We know this from the dozens of such slingshots that are turned up in every excavation in the cities of Judah. These slingshots, made of flint, were used from the Canaanite days down to the Hellenistic. So common are they that they are not even recorded in the lists of objects found by the expeditions, and they are given to tourists for souvenirs. Arab boys still throw large stones from slings, and some of them acquire sufficient accuracy to kill birds. In the village of Bethany a group of workers specializes in the making of slings. David, as a bright and active boy of Bethlehem, doubtless did a good deal of slinging and was confident of his proficiency. He had his own sling with him. His trying on the armor of Saul was a polite gesture; he knew that an accurate slinger with few clothes to encumber him had every advantage against a heavily armed warrior with sword, spear and javelin.

The Vale of Elah furnishes a limitless supply of round stones just the right size for a sling. In the valley bed the water runs swiftly, but not too swiftly, during the rainy season and not at all in the late summer; so it is an ideal place for picking up smooth, round stones, as do the pilgrims who visit it today.

How far David was from Goliath when he loosed his sling, we are unable to tell. At first they were close enough

to each other for the exchange of repartee, and after that the Philistine "arose and drew nigh," while David "hastened and ran toward the army." There was no fight. Before Goliath came anywhere near enough to make his weapons effective, David had ended the encounter with his first shot. It was so swift that Goliath could not dodge the missile and his shield-bearer had no time to interpose the shield. According to the Septuagint of I Sam. 17:49, the stone went through the helmet of the Philistine to reach his forehead.

David never would have allowed Goliath to come near enough to reach him with his weapons, and the youth could run and jump, while Goliath was encumbered with heavy metal. Even if David had missed all five shots, nothing would have been lost to him or to Israel. He easily could have kept out of reach, hurled a few more choice insults at the bewildered giant, and then returned at his leisure to the Israelite camp. Goliath would have gained no prestige by merely not being killed by a country boy who himself received no injury. In fact, the serious, solemn Goliath would have become a laughing-stock.

But David won easily, just as he expected, and the fall of their champion put such consternation into the Philistines and brought so much confidence to the Israelites that David could safely unsheath Goliath's sword and cut off his head, after which the Israelite army chased the Philistines back to Gath and Ekron.

This first important accomplishment of David is entirely in character. In it he shows the qualities which later made him king and eventually led to the idealizing of him by future generations. (1) He had imagination. Doubtless there were plenty of young men in the Israelite army who could have done what David did—if they had thought of

it. (2) He had skill, an attribute of the same personality that made him also a good musician, an enthusiastic dancer, and a favorite with women. (3) He had the urge to kill, as later he killed, or had killing done for him, whenever it suited his interests to get somebody out of the way. (4) He had religion; that is, he sought divine aid and claimed divine guidance in putting his project into execution. (5) He had a vivid dramatic instinct. His volunteering for the combat, his trying on and rejecting Saul's armor, his lofty speech to Goliath, his cutting off the giant's head with the victim's own sword, were all calculated to catch the popular fancy and draw to him the fanatical loyalty that is necessary for the success of any dictator.

It was these same qualities which afterward enabled David, in spite of his weaknesses and treacheries and mistakes, to organize a small empire, to live to a good old age, and to die a natural death.

THE HISTORICITY OF THE HEZEKIAN REFORM

BY ARTHUR R. SIEBENS

WHILE engrossed in his brilliant career of religious and social reform, John Calvin once replied to a critic, "Would you that the Lord find me idle when He comes?" But enthusiasm for reform did not originate in the sixteenth century. Calvin and his contemporaries were spiritual descendants of a long line of courageous men who were flayed by that strange zeal of the religious reformer. Among the earliest of these was Hezekiah, king of Judah, whose reign of twenty-nine years included the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century B.C.

According to the Biblical record (II Kings 18:3, f.; cf. II Chron. 29:2), Hezekiah "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David, his father, did. He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made, for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it, and he called it Nehushtan."

A further reference to the reforming activity of Hezekiah is found in verse 22 of the same chapter (cf. Isaiah 36:7). Sennacherib, whose army is before Jerusalem, has sent his delegates to speak with the representatives of Hezekiah concerning terms of peace. The Rabshakeh speaks lightly of Yahvé, the God of the Jews, mentioning not only the removal of the high places and altars, but

also Hezekiah's command, "Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem."

Again in II Kings 21:3 (cf. II Chron. 33:3) we find a reference to Hezekiah's reform. Manasseh, the son and successor of Hezekiah, is represented as undoing the work of his father. "For he built up again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars* for Baal, and made a grove, as did Ahab, king of Israel, and worshipped all the host of heaven and served them."

But the historicity of Hezekiah's reform is sometimes disputed. Especially was this true of some of the earlier founders of the critical school of biblical research. Wellhausen,¹ followed by Stade,² Smend,³ Cheyne,⁴ Benzinger,⁵ and others questioned the destruction of the high places, but conceded the removal of the serpent in II Kings 18:4. On the other hand, there is a host of scholars who accept the historicity of the reform in its entirety. Among these we may mention Kittel,⁶ Oettli,⁷ Riehm,⁸ König⁹ Steuernagel,¹⁰ Sellin,¹¹ Hempel,¹² Kuenen,¹³ Wildeboer,¹⁴ Westphal,¹⁵ Gautier,¹⁶ W. Robertson Smith,¹⁷ Driver,¹⁸ Barnes,¹⁹ Skinner,²⁰ McFadyen,²¹ G. A. Smith,²² Barton,²³ and Foakes-Jackson.²⁴ Some, such as Reuss²⁵ and Eissfeldt,²⁶ do not take a positive stand on either side of the questions.

But the views of certain of the founders of the critical school, such as Wellhausen, Stade, etc., have persisted in some quarters until the present time. Recent representatives of that viewpoint include Hans Schmidt,²⁷ Hugo Gressmann²⁸ and Gustave Holscher²⁹ in Germany, R. H.

* The Septuagint reads "altar."

¹ All numbered references, including this one, will be found at the end of the chapter.

Kennett³⁰ in England, Adolphe Lods³¹ in Paris, and, in variant form, W. C. Graham³² in the United States.

A major argument of those opposed to the acceptance of the reform of Hezekiah as historical is based on the fact that the reform seems not to have been permanent.³³

This reason seems insufficient, especially in view of the fact that these same authorities were leaders in the Graf-Wellhausen school which revived De Wette's identification of the book found in the temple with Deuteronomy,³⁴ and insisted that this book was the inspiring force behind the reform of Josiah (621 B.C.), which they accepted as historical. For, notwithstanding all the effort expended in its enforcement, the reform of Josiah seems to have spent itself in a comparatively short time, as is seen in Jer. 18:13-17; 13:27, and also in the visions described in Ezek. 8-11. There is no good reason for rejecting the reform of Hezekiah on the ground of an absence of permanent effect, and at the same time retaining the narrative concerning the reform of Josiah, which was likewise short-lived.

Curiously enough, Hans Schmidt recognizes the validity of this type of argument in another connection. In arguing, on the one hand, against the reliability of the accounts in II Kings 18:4, 22 and 21:3, he asks the following question: "And is it, in spite of II Kings 21:3, really probable that all that was removed by Hezekiah could have reappeared in its old form within 100 years?"³⁵ But in principle, Schmidt himself answers this question in his criticism of Hölscher's *Geschichte der Isr.-Jüd. Religion* in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, XLVIII, 291. Hölscher undertakes to prove the impracticability of measures such as those proposed in Deuteronomy by showing that the high places in the rural sections had reappeared within a short

time after the Josianic reform; in fact, Hölscher questions whether the reform for centralization ever touched the high places outside of Jerusalem. To this Schmidt answers: "Hölscher explains with much emphasis and quite correctly the cleansing of the temple in Jerusalem by Josiah as historical. But precisely in Jerusalem, as Ezek. 8-11 shows, everything has returned to its former state barely one generation later." How much easier, Schmidt argues, it is to understand the reappearance of the old practices in the distant rural sections than in Jerusalem!

We find no reason why the same type of argument may not be used concerning the permanency of the reform of Hezekiah. If the effects of the much emphasized reform of Josiah became dissipated in one generation, the less heralded reform of Hezekiah need not be questioned on the ground that we have no evidence of it one hundred years after its inception, *i.e.*, after the reigns of two kings, Manasseh and Amon, who were indifferent or opposed to such measures.

Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that Hezekiah's reform remained effective at least until the end of his reign; for after the reforming father had died, Manasseh and his regents introduced the new reign with an orgy of violations of the established worship of Yahvé (cf. II Kings 21). We must conclude that neither the reform of Hezekiah nor that of Josiah was permanent in its outward effects; and, of the two, the reform of Josiah had the better opportunity for becoming permanent because of the auspicious inauguration and authoritative impetus it received through the finding of the book in the temple.

There is no disposition here to base the authenticity of Hezekiah's reform solely on the account in II Kings 18:4a, with its mention of the destruction of the high places, the

Maçgeboth and the Ashera. Although we are not convinced by Stade³⁶ that the historical value of the first part of vs. 4 is to be completely eliminated on syntactical grounds, we hold that, leaving vs. 4a aside, there is still sufficient ground for believing that Hezekiah undertook a reform of importance.* There is, for instance, the reference to a Hezekian reform in vs. 22 of the same chapter (identical with Isa. 36:7), concerning which there can be no question for syntactical reasons. Or, is this passage to be regarded as unreliable on the hypothesis that the whole of II Kings 18-20 is legendary, as Stade maintains?³⁷ If the whole of these chapters is purely legendary, how can Stade justify his accepting the historicity of the destruction of the serpent which is described in the same chapter and verse in which the destruction of the high places is mentioned?³⁸ There seems to be no escape from the conclusion of Skinner that vs.22 "certainly affords independent evidence that such a reformation actually took place."³⁹

In the case of II Kings 21:3, where Manasseh rebuilds the high places, we perhaps have a passage from the hand of the Deuteronomist.⁴⁰ Even though we assume that this passage is from a late hand, we must not overlook the fact that the writer of it accepted the destruction of the high places by Hezekiah as historical. Unless we can find an ulterior motive for his doing so, we must have some confidence in the additions made by the redactor, for he was reasonably near the event in point of time and locality and his impressions merit consideration.

Reference has already been made to the acceptance of that portion of II Kings 18:4 which refers to the removal

* Moore (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1085), who feels that "the false tenses prove . . . that 18:4 has been interpolated by a very late hand," admits that "it may well be that Hezekiah, after the retreat of Sennacherib, took vigorous measures to suppress the idolatry against which Isaiah thundered."

of the brazen serpent, by those who question the historicity of the remainder of the Hezekian reform.⁴¹ The fact that, as these scholars admit, this part of the reform was carried out, proves that at least one measure was taken by this king. It represented a drastic rupture with the past; for the serpent was of great historical significance to the Jews, owing to the act of Moses in the wilderness when he made a serpent of brass in order that those who looked upon it might not die from the effects of the bites of the poisonous snakes.* Whether the serpent which was placed in the temple was the one made by Moses is doubtful, but it is safe to say that very great significance was attached to it. Moses, the saviour, leader and law-giver, had made such an image. This very serpent, according to popular belief, was in the temple† where it had perhaps been for two centuries. It had attained a prominent place in religious circles; yet Hezekiah ventured to remove it. Is it, then, unreasonable to credit this same king with the vigor that would enable him to remove the high places also? One is constrained to agree with Winckler, who, though he does not accept the passages in Kings about Hezekiah's destruction of the high places at their face value, nevertheless ascribes a partial removal of the foreign cults to this king. According to Winckler, "Hezekiah's reign signifies . . . the first execution of the demands of Yahvism."⁴²

The only alternative for those who deny the historicity of the recorded narrative concerning the Hezekian reform, but who accept that portion of the reform which pertains to the serpent, is to find some motive for separating the two

* Numbers 21:6-9. The ancients generally attached great significance to the serpent. Cf. Frazer, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, I, 50; II, 47.

† If the phrase, "that Moses had made," was not originally in II Kings 18:46, at least the one who added it believed that Moses made the serpent, and he was merely perpetuating a tradition which had been widely accepted.

actions. It is interesting to note at this point the reasoning of Professor W. C. Graham of the University of Chicago in his review of the writer's *L'Origine du Code Deutéronomique* (Paris, 1929). "Turning now to the positive attempt made by the author to show that the original centralizing nucleus of Deuteronomy may have come . . . as a result of Hezekiah's reform, one may commend his able argument for the historicity of this reform, and especially of Hezekiah's attacks on the local sanctuaries. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, even granted that this king attacked the high places, it does not follow that he had any idea of suppressing all worship there in such a way as would result, in the immediately following years, in so clear and insistent an assertion of the centralization policy as pervades Deuteronomy."⁴³ Graham then calls attention to the suggestion of Meek⁴⁴ that the serpent was a symbol of the order of the Levites and that Hezekiah might have wished to break with the Levites for political reasons. "This being so," thinks Graham, "one could interpret Hezekiah's attacks on the high places as a move to crush Levitical interference with his nationalistic and non-conformist attitude, and not at all as a move to prevent any form of worship in local centers. This is a possibility which has bearing on the date of the centralizing nucleus of Deuteronomy. So interpreted there is nothing in Hezekiah's reform which must inspire the centralizing propaganda found there."⁴⁵

As indicated above, it is difficult to understand why a movement which was strong enough to remove an object as important as the brazen serpent should be denied the strength to go much farther. After giving full consideration to the thoughtful suggestion of Graham, one still has difficulty in understanding why a motive of reform in the

interest of purer worship should be denied King Hezekiah. Particularly is this true when one confronts the fact that the Biblical record definitely states in three different passages that such a removal of the high places actually was effected. In view of this record, a heavy burden of proof would seem to rest upon those who would separate the two movements.

We may now consider the question as to whether or not the thought processes in the development of the religion of Israel had reached a point during the reign of Hezekiah sufficiently advanced to permit a reform movement. We find that Hezekiah had among his contemporaries at least one man whose voice was heard by the people. That man was Isaiah. This great prophet has been referred to by one of the earliest of critical scholars as an "apostle of reform." It is Stade who calls the movement which led up to the removal of the brazen serpent an Isaianic reform. In one of his last addresses (30:22) Isaiah is looking forward to a time when righteousness shall reign, and he explains that at that time the Jews "shall defile the overlaying of thy graven images of silver and the plating of thy molten images of gold; thou shalt cast them away as an unclean thing: thou shalt say unto it, Get thee hence."

Wellhausen has argued that if Isaiah hopes for a purification of worship, he does not himself expect to see it. The account in II Kings 18:4, 22 "must therefore rest upon a false generalization which is not conceivable before the Deuteronomic centralization of the cult.⁴⁶ Thus Wellhausen bases his rejection of the reference to Hezekiah's suppression of the high places in II Kings almost entirely on his interpretation of a single verse in Isaiah. He appears to overlook the fact that Hezekiah may well have worked out in practice what Isaiah suggested in theory.

Although Isaiah does not by direct mention insist on removal of high places, an explanation may perhaps be found in the theory presented by T. K. Cheyne, who writes, "The difference between Isaiah and the author of Deuteronomy is simply that the one looks for the 'holy people' to an ideal future; the other seeks prematurely enough, to realize the conception in the present."⁴⁷ The same no doubt applies to the difference between Isaiah and the leaders of Hezekiah's reform. In any case, it can not be denied that a spiritual attitude favorable to reform was being created by the great prophet.

We have already shown that the denial of the Hezekian reform involves the rejection of three passages which mention the high places. But the implications of such rejection are far wider in their scope. We read, for instance, in II Kings 12:2-4 of the abominations committed by Ahaz, Hezekiah's father and predecessor. Ahaz failed to do that which was right in the sight of Yahvé. He walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, making his son to pass through the fire and sacrificing in the high places, on the hills, and under every green tree. If, now, we turn to the reign of Manasseh, Hezekiah's son and successor, we find that he also did that which was evil in the sight of Yahvé (II Kings 21:2f.). He, too, committed the abominations of the nations whom Yahvé had cast out of Canaan. He built altars for other gods and caused his son to go through the fire.

If we accept these narratives concerning Ahaz and Manasseh, we thereby recognize that high places existed before Hezekiah began to reign, and that altars and other abuses attendant upon Baal-worship were re-established by Manasseh. This can imply but one event during the period that intervened between their reigns, namely, a re-

form during Hezekiah's reign. In other words, if we did not have the Biblical record of a reform under Hezekiah, we should have to *assume* one in order to comprehend the events of the reigns immediately preceding and following.

Obviously there is but one escape from this difficulty for those who hold that a reform did not take place under Hezekiah. In addition to rejecting the three passages attesting to such a reform (II Kings 18:4, 22 and 21:3), they must reject all those portions of chapter 16 and 21 which imply the existence of the abuses which a Yahvistic reformer might wish to remove. Such a procedure would seem to be carrying to a considerable extreme the process of excision of scriptural passages for the accommodation of a theory.

A question which inevitably arises in the mind of every one who holds that II Kings 18:4, 22 and 21:3 are not historically sound, is with reference to the motive that must have prompted a redactor to insert these references. To be sure, there is the well-known theory that a redactor who wished to give prestige to the principle of centralization of worship in Jerusalem systematically made these insertions. But this hypothesis may be made to work both ways. If the passages which refer to a reform under Hezekiah are specious, then we may ask why the critics who so regard them accept the narrative of a reform under Josiah at its face value. Obviously the only logical course to pursue, if we are to reject the narrative of Hezekiah's reform, is also to reject that of Josiah.

This is precisely the course followed by Kennett. It is significant that he employs the same line of argument (unwittingly, no doubt) against the historicity of the Josianic reform that Wellhausen uses against the Hezekian reform. Kennett expresses his view in the following terms: "In

arguing from the account contained in II Kings 22, 23, many people have concluded that it was the book of Deuteronomy itself which was read before Josiah. It may indeed be conceded that the writer (or writers) of these chapters was acquainted with Deuteronomy, and that he supposed Josiah to have been familiar with it also; but even the most trustworthy chapters of the book of Kings are not to be treated as though they were taken from a file of some Jerusalem newspaper. It is quite evident that the account which we possess was not written when all Judea was seething with excitement over Josiah's enactments; and the historian himself looked back (23:25ff.) not only to Josiah's successors on the throne, but also to the captivity. If therefore his statements are not those of an eye-witness, but of one who lived *at least* thirty-five years after the events of 621 B.C. and quite possibly considerably later, there is no difficulty in supposing that his account of Josiah's reign, although based upon a sound tradition, has been coloured by the belief that Josiah as a pious king must have acted in accordance with the Deuteronomic law."⁴⁸

With similar logic Wellhausen expresses his view regarding Hezekiah: "But although highly authentic statements have been preserved to us in the epitome of the Book of Kings, they have all, nevertheless, been subjected not merely to selection, but also to the revision of the Deuteronomic redactor, and it may very well be that the author thought himself justified in giving his subject a generalized treatment, according to which the cleansing (of the temple at Jerusalem in the first instance) from idols, urged by Isaiah and carried out by Hezekiah, was changed into an abolition of the Bamoth with their Maçseboth and Asherim. It is well known how indifferent later writers are to distinctions of time and degree in the heresy of unlawful worship; they always go at once to the completed

product. But in actual experience the reformation was doubtless accomplished step by step. At first we have in Hosea and Isaiah the polemic directed against molten and graven images, then in Jeremiah that against wood and stone, *i.e.*, against Maçceboth and Asherim; the movement originated in the prophets, and the chief, or rather the only, weight is to be attached to their authentic testimony."⁴⁹

We direct especial attention to Wellhausen's statement that the reformation and purification of Israel's worship of Yahvé was doubtless accomplished step by step, that as the first step Hosea and Isaiah attacked molten and graven images, and that the second step was taken by Jeremiah against wood and stone. Here we seem to have found the real difficulty that Wellhausen encountered when he studied the biblical record of the Hezekian reform. The idea that Hezekiah might have reached a high point in the purification of Yahvé worship and that there was later a recession under Manasseh, followed by a new reform under Josiah, did not accord with the progressive-development theory, doubtless inspired by the philosophy of Hegel, which, for the main outline of Israel's religious history, served Wellhausen so well.

In this connection it is interesting to note the position taken by Professor Adam C. Welch of Edinburgh. In an article based on the belief that the late redactors were unusually active in Kings and Chronicles, this scholar upholds the historicity of both the Hezekian and Josian reforms. He writes: "It is more than a little difficult to see why a similar story should have been invented about both these kings, if there had been no historic basis for it. It is easy to understand that such an account should have been elaborated and embellished. But why Josiah, *e.g.*, should have been selected as the king to whom this momen-

tous change was ascribed it is somewhat hard to understand."⁵⁰

Gustav Hölscher of Marburg reaches the same conclusion as Kennett (quoted above) concerning the destruction of the high places by Josiah. Hölscher has more confidence than Kennett in the main body of II Kings 22, 23,⁵¹ but he believes that those passages which refer to a removal of the high places are late additions.⁵² One realizes, as one reads Hölscher, that the removal of high places by Josiah is as easily discredited if one is so disposed, as in the case of Hezekiah. In the case of Josiah one is obliged to deal with but one general narrative in which there are three references to high places, *i.e.*, 23: 5, 8, 9. In the case of Hezekiah one must treat three widely separated passages, II Kings 18:4, 22; 21:3, besides explaining the contrasts between the religious qualities of Hezekiah and Ahaz on the one hand, and Hezekiah and Manasseh on the other. Hölscher applies the same test to all these passages. This is logical. Both reforms must be measured by the same standard. If we do this, we either join Hölscher and Kennett in their rejection of both, or we take the position here upheld, namely, that both Hezekiah and Josiah engaged in an effort to abolish the high places.

But if we reject both reforms, as do Kennett and Hölscher, we are confronted with the further difficulty of explaining how they both came to be regarded as authentic. Why should a late redactor or later historians have fabricated *both* stories, and how could they obtain acceptance of their erroneous representations? After having passed judgment on all the other kings of Judah for their failure to remove the high places, how can one explain their selecting precisely Hezekiah and Josiah as promoters of a reform if there was no historical justification? In the absence of more convincing evidence to the contrary, we must

regard it as certain that there really were reforms under Hezekiah and Josiah. Hezekiah can hardly have escaped the influence of that morality and righteousness which were preached in the name of the one Yahvé by Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah. And Josiah, freed from the political pressure of a declining Assyria to whose religion his predecessors, Manasseh and Amon, had catered, was free to yield to the will of a reforming party which received new life from the discovery of the book in the temple.

To reject the biblical evidence and deny the historicity of the only two efforts to abolish the high places throughout the history of Judah is, in the absence of further proof, unjustifiable,* and in the light of the evidence above presented the reform of Hezekiah must be regarded as an historical fact.

Psychologically, the setting was altogether favorable to such an event. For decades the prophets, inspired with a divine zeal, had thundered against the abuses of the times. These abuses had come to a climax under Ahaz, with his courting of Assyria both politically and religiously. Samaria, capital of the once proud kingdom of Omri, had been laid waste. She had offended Yahvé and was not worthy of his continued aid. Judah, on the other hand, had thus far survived. But the prophets had made clear that this was due more to Yahvé's love and goodness than to Judah's worthiness. Divine patience could not endure much longer. The final proof of divine intervention in Judah's favor had come in 701 B.C., when Sennacherib's

* It is noteworthy that the scholars who contest the historicity both of the reform of Hezekiah and of Josiah are those who date the book of Deuteronomy from the exilic period, while the scholars who reject the reform of Hezekiah only are chiefly those who consider Deuteronomy as the product of a benevolent fraud in 621 B.C. One may well ask whether the position taken by these scholars concerning the historicity of the biblical record regarding the reforms of the eighth century was not influenced by the theories concerning Deuteronomy.

army withdrew mysteriously from before the very gates of Jerusalem.

What a concentration of influence converged in the time of Hezekiah! There were the admonitions and warnings of the prophets, the realization that Samaria had fallen because of her disobedience to Yahvé, the anxiety over Judah's future, the continued approaching of the hordes from the north, the attack by Sennacherib, and, finally, the miraculous deliverance. The reign of Hezekiah was indeed an auspicious time for a reform.

NOTES

¹ *Prolegomena* (2d ed.), Berlin, 1883, p. 26; *Hexateuch* (2d ed.), 1889, pp. 290ff.

² *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1887, I, 607f.

³ *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte* (2d ed.), Freiburg, 1899, pp. 270f.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, cols. 2058f.

⁵ *Die Bücher der Könige*, Freiburg, 1899, pp. 177, 180.

⁶ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (6th ed.), pp. 373f.

⁷ *Geschichte Israels*, 1905, p. 414.

⁸ *Die Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab*, par. 13.

⁹ *Deuteronomium*, 1917, p. 49.

¹⁰ *Deuteronomium*, 1923, p. 14.

¹¹ *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, 1924, I, 269f.

¹² *Die Schichten des Deuteronomiums*, 1914, p. 258, n. 5.

¹³ *Einleitung*, I, 191, 193.

¹⁴ *Die Litteratur des A. Ts.*, 1895, pp. 188f.

¹⁵ *Sources du Pentateuch*, 1892, II, 276.

¹⁶ *Introduction* (2d. ed.), 1914, I, 171.

¹⁷ *Prophets of Israel* (2d. ed.), 1895, p. 359.

¹⁸ *Deuteronomy*, 1895, p. xlix.

¹⁹ *Kings* (Cambridge Bible), p. 276.

²⁰ *Kings* (Century Bible), pp. 383, 390.

²¹ *Introduction*, pp. 55f.

²² *Deuteronomy*, 1918, p. ci.

²³ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* (one vol. ed.), p. 403.

²⁴ *Bib. Hist. of the Hebrews*, 1921, pp. 286f.

²⁵ *Geschichte des Alten Testaments* (2d ed.), 1890, pp. 348ff.

²⁶ Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (4th ed.), Tübingen, 1922-23, I, 571.

²⁷ *Schriften des Alten Testaments* (2d ed.), II (1923), II, 9.

²⁸ *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLII, (1924), 330.

²⁹ Cf. his article "Das Buch der Könige, seine Quellen und seine Redaction" in *Eucharisterion* (Gunkel Festschrift), Göttingen, 1923, pp. 158-213.

³⁰ *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, Cambridge, 1920, pp. 3f.

³¹ Professor Lods of the Sorbonne repeatedly made his views known in the presence of the writer both in the classroom and in private conversation.

³² Cf. Graham's review of the writer's *L'Origine du Code Deutéronomique*, Paris, 1929, in *Journal of Religion*, 1930, pp. 621-625.

³³ Cf., for instance, Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, and Schmidt, *op. cit.* The argumentation followed in the present article had been developed in part in the writer's work on Deuteronomy cited above.

³⁴ *Dissertatio Critico-Exegetica*, Jena, 1805.

³⁵ *Schriften des Alten Testaments* (2d ed.), II, II, 192f.

³⁶ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, 607.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 621.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 607.

³⁹ *Kings* (Century Bible), p. 390.

⁴⁰ See Eissfeldt, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (4th ed.), I, 578.

⁴¹ Cf. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (4th ed.), 1901, p. 130; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, 466, 607; Smend, *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte* (2d ed.), p. 271; Cheyne, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 2059; Schmidt, *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl neu übersetzt* (2d ed.), II, II, 9.

⁴² *Keilinschriften des Alten Testaments* (3d ed.), p. 271.

⁴³ *Journal of Religion* (University of Chicago), 1930, pp. 621-626.

⁴⁴ *American Journal of Semitic Literature*, XXXVII, No. 2, 109 *et passim*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Hexateuch* (2d ed.), p. 291. In direct contrast to this interpretation of Isaiah in his relation to the spirit of Deuteronomy we have the view of Driver in his *Deuteronomy*, p. liii.

⁴⁷ *Jeremiah*, 1888, p. 74.

⁴⁸ *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 3.

⁴⁹ *Prolegomena* (3d ed.), p. 49n.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLIII (1925), 254.

⁵¹ *Eucharisterion*, Göttingen, 1923, p. 208f.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 198f., 208ff. For a more detailed discussion of the position taken by these two scholars, cf. Siebens, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-54.

CALVIN AS INTERPRETER OF EZEKIEL

BY LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH

THE renewed interest in Reformation theology has led many students in recent years to some study of Calvin's *Institutes*; but acquaintance with his commentaries, at least among American and English scholars, is still limited to the occasional Old or New Testament specialist seeking to complete an historical survey of the interpretation of this or that disputed passage.

Yet the commentaries well repay study for their own sake. The words of the Biblical text under Calvin's clear analysis take on new force and validity, the trivial and the important differentiate themselves, the method of the original writer becomes comprehensible and his essential message manifest. Furthermore, Calvin reveals himself in these pages as nowhere else. Here he appears as sympathetic interpreter, as eager teacher, as yearning pastor—not merely as supremely logical theologian. We realize something of the charm of the man, even as his contemporaries felt it.

Perhaps especially to be enjoyed are those commentaries which are directly based on transcriptions of lectures. Here there are added to the ever present clarity and originality of Calvin's thinking, a directness, vividness and vitality of presentation which compel attention. The sixty-five lectures on the first twenty chapters of the prophet Ezekiel, the last lectures which Calvin delivered, are today among the least known of his works, yet "this most Calvinistic of prophets" offers especial scope for Calvin's genius.

The Geneva "school" at this time had about fifteen hundred students, drawn from the Protestant communities in all parts of Europe. Calvin lectured regularly three times a week, delivering according to Beza, one hundred and eighty-six lectures a year.*

According to his custom, Calvin began the lectures on Ezekiel with the short prayer: "Grant us, Lord, to meditate on the heavenly mysteries of Thy wisdom, with true progress in piety, to Thy glory and our edification."† There are a few words of general introduction: "Ezekiel himself explains at the very beginning of his book, at what period he discharged the prophetic office; and on this depends the knowledge of his argument. . . . It is necessary therefore to begin from this point." Then follows Calvin's Latin translation of the first two verses of the text and his interpretation.

Throughout the book there are constant reminders of the classroom. Any college teacher will respond sympathetically to the references to the unwelcome arrival of the end of the lecture period. "I cannot proceed further although what follows is connected (*cohaeret*) with the subject" (I, 129).‡ "I will not proceed further, because I should be compelled to desist, and so the doctrine would be abrupt" (I, 194). There were days when he forgot the time and read a new verse just as the period closed (I, 227), "I see that I cannot finish and I think the time is advancing" (*horologium aberrare*, rather, "the clock is

* Williston Walker, *John Calvin*, New York, 1906, pp. 360ff.; E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, Lausanne, 1905, vol. 3, pp. 374-392.

† I have preferred in general to give direct quotations from the English translation of 1848 (Edinburgh), since this on the whole reproduces the vigor and the individual character of the Latin. When the translation seemed for any reason inadequate, I have quoted the original also.

‡ References are given according to convenience to the volume and page of the 1848 translation, as in this instance, or to the chapter and verse of Ezekiel.

wrong"). We find frequent recognition of the presence of the listening students, for instance, the sudden direct address after the enumeration of various suggested interpretations (I, 257), "But I am unwilling to hold you in suspense here and it seems to me that nothing is more useful than to investigate the genuine sense of the prophet."

Truly, this last phase expresses Calvin's constant aim. He believed absolutely that God had spoken through his prophet and that the task which lay before himself and his students was the right understanding of the word of God. To this task he brought every available resource.

He knew Greek and Hebrew, learned at Paris and Basle,* and there was, of course, a professor of Hebrew at Geneva. In most cases Calvin accepted the current rendering of the Hebrew words, although he enjoyed differing from Jerome—"As to Jerome's translation 'wealth,' it is altogether adverse to the prophet's meaning" (II, 140). But since his aim was consistently to make his knowledge contribute to the elucidation of the passage before him, he yielded only seldom to the temptation of commenting on a word for its own sake. The remark that *biq'ah* (ch. 8:4) should by derivation signify not *plain* but *valley*, and the observation that a pair of scales is properly called *moznayim* (ch. 5:1) "because of its two ears" are exceptions.†

He uses context in general (2:10) and often the first half of a parallelism to settle a disputed meaning: "Some explain the noun *šodh* more subtly . . . but they are deceived in thinking that the prophet's meaning is different in the second clause . . . he repeats the same thing in

* Menzies, *A Study of Calvin and Other Papers*, London, 1918, p. 198f.

† The Brown, Driver, Briggs Lexicon supports the first but not the second of these observations.

different words" (13:9). He calls attention to the fact that the Latin does not adequately give the force of the Hebrew; *e.g.*, 13:13, 17:2. Occasionally he admits the advisability of emendation, as in 16:45.

Calvin is not generally included in the ranks of the "higher critics," and it is true that those of the present day would hardly accept his explanation of the puzzling "thirtieth year" (1:1) as the thirtieth from the year of Jubilee observed by King Josiah, nor would they reckon Daniel among Ezekiel's contemporaries (14:14). But these are unimportant trifles which in no way affect the interpretation of the prophet's message; and Calvin in his opening sentences asserts the necessity for a knowledge of the historical background as vehemently as the most ardent of modern liberals. "Unless we know how God stirred him up we . . . shall be unable to receive any just fruit from his instruction" (I, 51). And he repeats the assertion at frequent intervals, as, for example, when he says (II, 186), "The prophet's discourse cannot be understood without a knowledge of history" (*Aliter non potest intellegi prophetae concio quam si teneamus historiam*). Were even sixteenth century students sometimes impatient of too much historical detail?

The facts of history he constantly uses both in particular and in general for the better understanding of his text. He applies his knowledge of ancient warfare to 4:1, 2. The fashion of Oriental garments contributes to the interpretation of 4:7: "To make bare the arm, that is for expedition; for we know that Orientals use flowing tunics so that they cannot execute any business without putting off their garments. Hence the prophet is here ordered to make bare his arm, just as if any one should take his coat half off and throw it over the other side that he might have one arm free." There is even a touch of irony in

his comment on the nose-rings of 16:12; after he has carefully corrected the Vulgate from *faciem* to *narem vel nares*, he adds that the luxury of bracelets which the barbarians call armlets has been "spread abroad almost everywhere, but the circular ornament which the prophet adds to it was rejected by other nations."

He constantly urges his students to consider the environment in which Ezekiel lived and taught, as an indispensable aid to the appreciation and understanding of his message. Oftener than the external situation he emphasizes the attitudes and prejudices of those to whom Ezekiel was talking, their undue trust in the temple at Jerusalem, for instance. "They were so intoxicated with foolish confidence that they wished to hold God shut up as it were within a prison (*ergastulo*) for their temple was as it were God's prison (*carcer*)" (10:18, 19).

Calvin himself, than whom according to Beza no one "was shorter in teaching and yet more solid," evidently found it hard not to be a bit impatient with the amount of repetition in Ezekiel. "Here (1:20) he repeats what he had said, though he is rather prolix." Also Calvin had too much literary discrimination not to realize the difference in style between Ezekiel and Isaiah. For both repetition and lack of finish he apologizes frequently, finding always the excuse in the character of those to whom Ezekiel spoke. Ezekiel is "more verbose than Isaiah and even than Jeremiah. . . . He accommodated his language to learners, because he had to do with a people not only rude and dull but also obstinate" (1, 139). "He had to strive with hard heads and God did not arm him in vain" (1, 281).

The allegorical method of exegesis which found "types" everywhere still survived in the sixteenth century and Cal-

vin could not wholly escape its influence. However, he protests specifically against it, for example, in chapter 16: "As to the explanation which some give of these female ornaments allegorically, I do not approve of it, as they fruitlessly conjecture many trifles which are at variance with each other (*futiliter etiam excogitant multas naenias* ["lullaby," "popular song"] *quae inter se confligunt*)."

Sometimes, of course, Calvin's eagerness to discern value in every word of the text before him leads him to exercise too much subtlety. Yet it would be hard to wish all such feats of ingenuity undone. When Ezekiel obediently ate the roll presented to him (3:2), "here we see a difference between the true servants of God who discharge their duty in earnest, and talkative men who are satisfied with their own powers of eloquence or rather garrulity; for there are many ready speakers who utter what they have never digested." *Reqa' beraglekha*, Vulgate *Extende in pede tuo*, English A.V. "stamp with thy foot," Calvin translates *divarca pedes tuos*, "for thus men are accustomed to do when they denounce anything gravely or burn with indignation: they extend their legs in opposite directions: so I have rendered it literally (*ad verbum*), 'separate thy feet'" (6:11). One would hate to miss this bit of comment on the habits of sixteenth century disputants!

We may smile at the comment on 6:1-3, although the remarks of modern authorities are not much better: "The prophet might object that the mountains had no ears . . . but he understood God's intention and so obeyed cheerfully"; but not at the defense of the prophet's apparent harshness (2:7): "The prophets often spoke with great asperity; yet they were not hurried away into any excess or carried forward with intemperance against their adversaries. But they could not in any other way vindicate (*asserere*, defend) their doctrine. We must therefore

hold that although they were cruel and severe in language (*saevi et atroces lingua*), yet they breathed pure humanity from the heart." And one is really grateful that Calvin could not take the easy modern solution of emending *kerubh* to *shur* in 10:14, when one reads the explanation of why the ox of 1:10 has become a cherub—"that the four heads may not distract" Ezekiel.

One of Calvin's outstanding excellencies as a commentator is, in fact, that he so seldom lets himself be "distracted" by details from the real value of his text. He is ready to dismiss with a sentence matters which his contemporaries often felt required elaborate investigation. On the question of whether '*agol*, "round," should not be read for '*egel* in ch. 1:7, he says: "I know no reason why the prophet should say calves' feet . . . this seems rather strange, but I do not contend about trifles." As to why Noah, Daniel, and Job are named (14:14): "Those who wish to be precise guess various comments" which "at first seem to be clever; but whatever is affected is always cold and tame (*ieiunum*). Ezekiel here mentions these three men because they first occurred to him." Thus with his mind set always on the essential message of the prophet, Calvin interpreted to his students the words of the text so that they became again for his generation the word of God.

This very contemporaneousness which made the lectures of special value to Calvin's hearers lessens to some extent their interest for the present-day student. We need frequently to remind ourselves of the situation in which Calvin (rather than Ezekiel) "then was," if we are not to grow impatient at the repeated denunciations of "Papist" errors, ranging from scorn of their vestments—"Papists as if they were apes have imitated that custom in their garments called surplices" (9:2)—to far weightier matters of law

and dogma, as, for instance, when he uses Ezekiel's words against false prophets as justification for the Protestant rejection of the Roman Catholic claim to be the true church. "And at this day we see how the Papists claim to themselves the name of 'the Church,' since they pretend (*obtenditur*) to the perpetual succession: and truly we are compelled to confess that the *ministerium ordinarium* is with them. But because they . . . have altogether overthrown that method of governing the church which the Lord had appointed, we may safely laugh at their boasting" (13:8, 9).

Perhaps more timely for us today is the discussion of treaties and alliances. The only "lawful" cause for either is the purpose "to dwell at home in peace." "Nothing is better than to reef our sails, and to look to God alone . . . and not to allow any kind of alliance unless necessity compels us." And if we are forced to contract an alliance "we should always take care lest our liberty [to Calvin only liberty to serve God was important] be in any way abridged" (16:26).

But however alert Calvin may have been to discover light on the special problems of his own time, he sought primarily in Ezekiel God's revelation to man of what he requires of men in all times, of what he himself eternally is.

Calvin was himself a preacher, lecturing to men who were to be pastors of the Protestant churches of all Europe, and he took full advantage of the homiletic emphasis in Ezekiel. He did it, however, with such clear understanding of the ways of men, with such keen appreciation of their difficulties, and above all with such absolute sincerity that the paragraphs devoted to "edification" are by no means the least interesting in the commentary.

Ezekiel was commanded to dig through the wall into the inner chamber of the temple (8:8). "We gather from this that superstitions are sometimes so hidden in secret places that they escape our eyes even while we look at them." The prophet had "only looked through a chink (*per rimam dumtaxat conspexit*)"; but God "assured him that a thin and obscure view was not sufficient." The clothing described in chapter 16 is not to be imitated by the students of Geneva. "At this day indeed if any one among us wore a parti-colored garment, it would not be manly"; and since in their future congregations some ladies may be too fond of gorgeous apparel, he continues: "nay, women who desire such variety in colors show themselves to have cast off all modesty (*verecundia*) . . . If any one makes inquiry whether it was lawful for women to use so many ornaments [as are described in verse 13], the answer is easy, that the prophet here does not approve of what he relates, but uses a common image." In prosperity, pride is especially to be avoided. "Nothing is more dangerous than to exult like ferocious horses when God feeds us in abundance (*quodammodo saginat*—'stuff,' 'fatten')." "

Repeatedly he finds counsel for the ministerial candidates themselves. Their supreme duty is to "utter God's word" and "be the organ of His Spirit" (11:5). "He who is appointed a teacher should hear God speaking . . . Those who desire to be praised for their learning and eloquence often obscure the name of God" (3:17). Hence the general rule for all is this: "namely that they should hear the word from *the mouth* of God; by which particle (*particula*, 'phrase') God wishes to exclude whatever men fabricate . . . for themselves . . . So He puts a bridle upon them that they should neither invent anything nor hanker after (*lasciviant*) their own devices" (*ibid.*).

Like Ezekiel and Paul, those to whom God assigns the honor of teaching must not regard too much their own dignity. "If so to speak fleas were to come out of the earth and rail at sound doctrine, none will hesitate to contend even with those fleas"—as Ezekiel at the command of God "with conspicuous modesty (*modestia*) . . . turned to weak women (*mulierculas*—note the scornful diminutive) to refute even them" (13:17, 18). They must have courage to denounce sin, be "anxious and even zealous to recall sinners . . . Yet this moderation must be maintained, not to condemn anyone through moroseness, since many immediately abominate whatever displeases them" (3:18). The relation between Ezekiel and Jeremiah should be ever their example. Ezekiel "had not to discharge his office by himself, but was an assistant to Jeremiah. And we cannot otherwise discharge our duty to God and His Church unless we mutually extend our hands to each other, when ministers are mutually united and one studies to assist the other" (11:3).

But most of all Calvin stresses in his lectures God's revelation of himself. In the great visions of chapters 1 and 10, he finds set forth the eternal attributes of the almighty God for whose glory all things were created. Ezekiel saw not God himself, but "the *likeness* of the glory of God, that is God did not appear as He really is, but as far as He can be beheld by mortal man. For if angels tremble at God's glory, if they veil themselves with their wings, what should we do that creep upon the earth?" To see the glory itself would be "to measure with the palm of our hand a hundred thousand heavens and earths and worlds" (1:28).

Yet to Calvin as to Ezekiel it is the accompanying *word* which gives significance to the vision. "If the vision only had been offered to the eye of the prophet, and no voice of

God followed, what would have been the advantage (*quis fructus*)? But when God confirmed the vision by His word, the prophet was enabled to say with advantage, 'I have seen the glory of God' " (2:3). The transcendent God, Creator and Judge of men, to be comprehended by none of his creatures, Calvin found revealed throughout the book of Ezekiel. "God is incomprehensible in Himself" (9:2). "When God is mentioned we cannot conceive anything aright unless we raise all our senses above the whole world" (10:1). "The name of God is a fount of splendor so as far to surpass the light of the Sun; nay, whatever light exists is made apparent and refulgent by it" (13:17).

Calvin rejoiced in the many opportunities which Ezekiel gave him to emphasize the sovereignty of God and his intolerance of iniquity, but to Calvin it was the revelation of the love of God which was of supreme importance. "Ezekiel threatens the people with the vengeance of God; but he gives them here and there some taste of the mercy of God; for the vengeance of God drives men to despair so that they wage war against God Himself so that all threats are vain without a taste of the mercy of God" (I, 55, the introductory summary). One could quote endlessly from the passages in which Calvin sets forth the love of God. "We gather how humanely, nay, how indulgently, God deals with us. For as on His part He sees how small is our comprehension (*modulus*), so He descends to us" (1:13). The wheels in 1:18 are of "formidable magnitude" because "unless the Lord should as it were draw us violently to Himself, we should grow torpid through sloth." "God wished to bear witness through all the ages how inclined He is to pity" (18:23).

The inexorable necessity to combine in the conception of God the mutually exclusive attributes of justice and

mercy was fully recognized by Calvin. "God transfers to Himself what properly does not belong to Him, for He does not delight Himself after the manner of men, when He takes vengeance on wickedness . . . but God's judgment cannot be comprehended unless He puts on the character of man. This language ('comfort Himself with vengeance,' 5:13) signifies that He cannot bear evil. We cannot otherwise conceive Him as a just judge unless He declare Himself pleased with vengeance." God is "broken on account of the adulterous heart of Israel" (6:9) because after long patience he is forced to "descend to punish them" and also "because He wishes to pardon them"; and this latter explanation is "suitable (*non male quadraret*)" because "the sinner cannot really remember God without perceiving some taste of His goodness." God "is not only prepared to receive all who fly to His pity, but He calls them towards Him with a loud voice." Whenever men turn to Him, God runs immediately to meet them (*statim illis occurrat*). But "God does not so wish all to be saved as to renounce the difference between good and evil" (18:23).

The whole of the discussion of chapter 18 is worth careful study, but I will quote further only a few words from the comment on verse 4. "The sentiment is true in itself that all souls are under God's sovereignty by right of creation, and therefore He can arbitrarily determine for each whatever He wishes . . . but this passage ought to be understood otherwise. . . . God here rather shows that He is affected with fatherly love towards the whole human race since He created and formed it."

Discussion of most of the doctrinal theses treated in Calvin's *Institutes* can be found in the pages of the Ezekiel commentary—not that Calvin arbitrarily imports Reformation theology into the teaching of Ezekiel, or that

he forces Scripture to agree with the *Institutes*,* but because he naturally applies his own categories of thought to the interpretation of the teaching of the prophet, and finds both illuminated by the application. The commentary is, on account of its brevity and vividness of expression, in some ways a better source book for the modern student of Calvin's theology than the *Institutes* themselves. But since this paper deals with Calvin as commentator, rather than as theologian, there is no place here for further quotation.

Not strictly a part of the commentary are the prayers with which Calvin closed his lectures. These are a permanent treasure in the devotional heritage of the church, and should be read and pondered by those who doubt Calvin's faith in the love of God. "Grant, Almighty God, since Thou so graciously invitest us to Thee, and ceasest not, even if we are deaf, to continue towards us the same goodness, that at length we may be disciplined to obedience and permit ourselves to be ruled by Thy word" (I, 172).

If space permitted, a detailed comparison of Calvin's commentary with contemporary works would be worth making. The Protestant commentary of Oecolampadius had appeared in 1533.† It is a careful, conscientious work, giving often more detailed explanation of words or phrases, but showing, except in the translation from the Hebrew, far less originality than Calvin's. There is frequent citation of authorities for their own sake. Also the elaborate allegorizing against which Calvin protested appears often.

* Cf. Menzies, *op. cit.* p. 203.

† Ioannis Oecolampadius, *In Prophetam Ezechielem Commentarius*, Argentorati, Strasbourg, 1533.

Somewhat later than Calvin are the two Roman Catholic commentaries of Hector Pinto and of Jerome de Prado, completed by Villalpando.* Pinto's book, dedicated to "King Sebastian of Lusitania . . . Africa, Arabia, India, etc., in whose realm there is not a single Lutheran or other heretic," offers little of interest. On the whole, the author seems more intent on exhibiting his own learning (for instance, on one verse, 12:6, he quotes Cicero, Baruch, Ecclesiastes, Iannes Monachus, Ovid, Horace, Aristotle, Chrysostom, and Bernard) than on interpreting his text. The three folio volumes of de Prado and Villalpando are fascinating, but more because of the illustrations than the content. The authors wrote to refute the heresy of Theodore of Mopsuestia—that the words of the prophets were intelligible to their contemporaries—and they are chiefly interested in the details of the temple which is a type of Christ.

The treatment in the three of *hashmal* (1:4) is characteristic. Oecolampadius transliterates *hasmal* and comments that some think this the name of an angel or fiery talking animal. But he is chiefly interested in the symbolism. The church has three parts: *hasmal* is the head; the animals are the leaders of the church, endowed with various gifts; the wheels are the lower and stupid (*imbecillia*) members who none the less belong to the body. Pinto and de Prado of course follow Jerome's translation, "electrum." Pinto explains "a certain bituminous effluence from rocks, called by the Lusitanians 'amber' . . . But God is incomprehensible, indescribable and infinite, as Empedocles says, 'God is an indescribable sphere

* Hector Pinto, *In Ezechielem Prophetam Commentaria*, first ed., Salamanca, 1568; Hieron. Pradius and Jo. Bapt. Villalpandus, *In Ezechielem Explanationes*, Rome, 1596.

whose center is everywhere and circumference nowhere' . . . The appearance of electrum signifies the goodness of God which although it is invisible to us, yet seems to be seen from the visible,"—and so on for four closely printed columns. De Prado defends Jerome's translation against Jewish opinion on the ground that Jerome was *doctissimus* in the older Hebrew authorities and therefore presumably knew more than the later rabbis. Then follows a long column of classical citations on the nature of electrum. The symbolism of the whole vision is treated at the end of the section.

Compare these exegetical vagaries with Calvin's "Hasmal seems to me to be a color . . . but whether it was electrum or any remarkable color, it so clearly portrayed to the prophet the majesty of God that he could not but be wrapt in admiration" (*ut in admirationem rapi debuerit*).

Calvin's lectures close with 20:44. "That most illustrious man, John Calvin, the Divine, who had previously been sick, then began to be so much weaker that he was compelled to recline on a couch and could no longer proceed with the explanation of Ezekiel" (II, 346). The last words are a fitting close to Calvin's work as a commentator. "Here at length God pronounces that His glory would be chiefly conspicuous in the pity which He bestowed upon those who were desperate . . . And since that was said to His ancient people. . . . How much more ought God's gratuitous goodness to be extolled by us, when His heavenly kingdom is at this day open to us, and when He openly calls us to Himself in heaven, and to the hope of that happy immortality which has been obtained for us through Christ?"

PAUL ON THE RESURRECTION

AN INVESTIGATION AND AN ESTIMATE

BY ANDREW C. ZENOS

THE New Testament age brought the idea of the resurrection out of its cloudy setting, and gave it a place in the clear daylight. In Egypt, in Persia, and in Asia Minor it had had some currency in much earlier days. In Judea it had been adopted as a comforting and satisfying explanation of the apparent injustice of God's dealings with the martyrs of the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. During the persecution many Jews had renounced their faith, and as a reward for agreement with the tyrant's mind, they had been exempted from suffering; while those who had stood by the faith of the fathers had been cruelly tortured, and some had been put to death. The resurrection idea furnished an easy solution of the problem thus raised.

Thus it gained currency in Judea; but it never became an article of the common creed. The mind of conservative Jews, accustomed to the Torah as a guide in all religious ways, felt suspicious of it. Together with all innovations introduced from outside the written "Instruction" carrying Mosaic authority, they branded it as groundless and dangerous. In the lifetime of Jesus Pharisees and Sadducees bandied arguments, the former asserting, the latter denying the truth of the new idea.

Paul was born and trained a Pharisee. To him there was no inherent obstacle to the belief that the soul of man has a distinct and independent being, apart from his body.

Deeply as he resented the first preaching of Jesus as the Messiah, the mere assertion of the Christians that Jesus had died and risen again did not disturb him in the least. If it could be shown by evidence that Jesus had returned from the grave, this might not be a proof that he was the promised Messiah, but it should not be denied as an impossibility on grounds (as we say in these days) of an *a priori* nature or as inconsistent with the genuine Jewish faith in Jehovah. Paul's mind, so far as it faced the idea, was open.

Just what did the apostle admit into this open mind, and how did he develop his idea? Toward the answering of this question we have ample materials. In general these are of two kinds, *viz.*, those furnished by his companion and interpreter, the evangelist Luke, and those incorporated in his correspondence with the churches and individuals to whom he wrote letters.

So far as the net result yielded by them is concerned, these two sources of our knowledge of Paul's mind on the subject of the resurrection differ in no essential respect, though Luke's data may be viewed by the critical student as secondary, while Paul's (assuming the question of the authenticity of I Corinthians, at least, as a closed one) must be viewed as primary.

One fact looms up sharply defined, as a consequence of any close and methodical survey of the field. This is that Paul's early belief in the possibility of a return from the dead of one who had experienced death had been confirmed. This conclusion was to Paul not a result of inference from scattered observations, but a direct product of experience. He had held converse with one who had died and risen again. Three accounts of his conversion on the way to Damascus, together with a number of references

such as those in I Cor. 15:8 ("Last of all as to a child untimely born he appeared to me also") and 9:1 ("Have I not seen Jesus?") leave no room for doubt on this point. The statements that Jesus had "appeared" to him, and that he had "seen" Jesus are so clear and so enframed in the story of a remembered experience that, had they concerned a matter of ordinary significance, no one would have thought of raising a question as to their meaning. Since, however, the fact involved is so plainly not an ordinary one, no one has objected to the question and its full discussion. It is, therefore, not a new question; yet it is one that offers new ways of approach, and a fresh examination of its intricacies may not be unprofitable.

Let us begin by examining the usage of Paul's contemporaries in speaking of the subject of the resurrection in general. In the Gospels (both the Synoptists and John) there are several references to the subject. Among these the case of Lazarus is the most striking; others that may be named are those of the son of the widow at Nain, and the daughter of Jairus. Did Paul mean that he saw the risen Jesus in the same way that those who witnessed these resurrections saw the persons who had been raised? It does not seem probable. In fact, it is quite certain that he had a fact of a different order in mind when he used the words "appeared," and "I have *seen* Jesus." If we apply the word "resurrection" to Paul's conception, "resuscitation" would be a very apt term to use of the type of fact implied in the accounts of the evangelists.

Whether Paul had conceived of the distinction between resurrection and resuscitation is of no import. Without thinking of such a distinction he could have, and does seem to have, an idea of a return to human relationships on a higher level than the mere restoration of life to a body

in which life had previously ceased. The cases recited by the evangelists do not involve anything more than such a simple return of activity in, and reactivity to, an environment. Paul's most decidedly does. What the plus in the case is, will be a question to ask and answer a little later.

Meanwhile let us note that the common ground on which Paul and the other New Testament writers stand, so far as the idea of the resurrection is concerned, is that they are all interested in it primarily because of Jesus.

When the first disciples hear of Jesus' resurrection, it is because he had meant so much to them in life that they are so moved by it. And since they thought of him as the Messiah, they look on his return from the grave as a sign of his Messiahship. They know of other resurrections; but they dismiss them with a bare mention, attaching no further significance to them.

With Paul, too, it was Jesus that stirred up his mind on the subject. But Jesus had meant nothing to him as a living man; in fact, a strong prejudice against him had possessed Paul's mind. It was as a risen person that Jesus conquered and compelled his faith. The fact of the resurrection then took on a different and better meaning for him, a meaning beyond the mere knowledge it gives of a prodigious occurrence. That occurrence, though not unbelievable in itself, had been until then a negligible piece of information.

Therefore, in arguing the reality of the resurrection of Jesus, Paul most strenuously insists on its necessity as an explanation of, and as a fact of basic significance for, the Christian faith. "If Christ has not been raised, then is our preaching vain; your faith also is vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God that he raised up Christ whom he raised not up." There are two distinct reasons

here for faith in the resurrection of Jesus. The second of these is very familiar; it is the argument from the testimony of eye-witnesses. Jesus made his resurrection known to trustworthy witnesses. Among these the apostle counted himself. "*We* are found false witnesses."

The other reason, however, is even more emphatic, and is placed first. The living faith of the Christian which is based on the knowledge of Christ as a present power implies some fact in history which deserves to be called a resurrection. We may call this a "less familiar" way of validating the reality of the event than the appeal to the trustworthiness of the eye-witnesses. But it is not less commonly used.

For if the historic proof of the resurrection of Jesus be given, as it is sometimes, in the three considerations of the Empty Tomb, the Resurrection Appearances, and the Total Psychological and Social Effect of the Belief, then Paul's thought is implicit in the third of these. Such enormous factors in history as the birth of the Christian Church, the observance of the Lord's Day, the transformation of the disciples from a timid and scattered group into a fearless band of heroes, each of whom was ready to sacrifice his life in attestation of his faith, as, indeed, almost all of them did—these demand a *fact* as an occasion for the belief, and a fact of tremendous impressiveness. Paul's pivoting the Christian faith on this fact is merely another form, though a direct and simple one, of the argument just stated.

The bearing of this mode of the apostle's approach on modern ways of thinking is worthy of a moment's attention. When modern criticism first came to face the problem of the portentous and preternatural fact of the resurrection, its immediate reaction was to throw overboard the testimony of the witnesses as weak and inadequate.

Men like Harnack expressed this reaction, calling attention to the change of point of view to which it must lead. Harnack alleged that, whereas before the days of modern research the Christian naïvely believed in the resurrection, and therefore was a Christian, now he must believe in the resurrection of Jesus *because* he is a Christian. In the proportion that formerly the resurrection of Jesus was a help to the Christian faith, it is now seen to be a hindrance; what was an asset is now changed into a liability.

This point of view would not have disturbed Paul's equanimity if it had been presented to him, nor would it have diminished his confidence in the reality of the fact whose bearing he was expounding. For there is more in this argument than the generation of scholars just referred to realized. That a conviction should have crystallized out of a chaos without a nucleus, and without a conceivable energy or direction to control its organization into form, is no easier to believe than that an unusual, even an unparalleled, event in nature should have happened. If the faith of the Christian is a valid one (and the acid test of experience under the most rigid conditions forced Paul to believe that it was valid) then he was justified in pointing to it as a proof of the reality of the event from which he traced its origin.

In Paul's mind the bodily resurrection of Jesus was intertwined with the more comprehensive, the more vital faith in the saving power of Christ, and in such a way that the two must stand or fall together. For himself, his experimental touch with the risen Jesus was enough ground for accepting the fact; for others, the reality of the Christian faith seemed to provide equally strong ground for his urging its acceptance upon them.

Before turning from the comparison of Paul's point of

view with that of his contemporaries, another distinctive peculiarity of his deserves brief comment.

The four evangelists, as plain narrators of facts, proceed to trace the acceptance of the resurrection in a consistent account involving a series of successive details. Apparently to them, too, it is not essential, as it was not to Paul, to distinguish between a case of resuscitation and one of full resurrection. They assume that Jesus returned from the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea with the identical body with which he had been carried into it.

This makes it perfectly natural, one might even say inevitable, for them to lay some stress on the fact that the tomb was found empty by those who visited it on Easter morning. To the modern mind, however, this emphasis has rather weakened than strengthened the general support of the belief in a bodily resurrection. It has been said, for instance, that "the Easter faith is based on the Empty Sepulchre." But that the sepulchre was found empty after the burial is by no possible means a demonstrative proof of the fact that he who was laid in it had risen from the dead. A tomb may be vacated in one of a number of ways. In the special case of the reported empty tomb of Joseph, here are some of the ways that the ingenuity of disbelievers in a purely physical resurrection has devised.

(1) The disciples of Jesus removed his body. This was the alleged explanation of the contemporary Jewish leaders.

(2) Joseph of Arimathea himself removed the body. He did, indeed, impulsively give his new sepulchre for the burial of the rabbi whom he loved; but on more mature thought his respect for his own reputation, and his fear of loss of social standing, overcame his generosity and led him to transfer the body of Jesus to another place which

was never discovered. (This hypothesis is elaborated in the novel, *When It Was Dark*).

(3) Jesus removed himself from the grave. In fact, he had never actually died. The crucifixion had exhausted him and thrown him into a coma; but the subsequent rest in the coolness of the rock-hewn grave had restored his strength, and when he regained consciousness he rolled away the rock that obstructed the entrance, escaped from the sepulchre, and ended his days in unknown parts (see Moore, *The Brook Kerith*).

(4) The rulers of the Jews removed the body because of their fear that the sepulchre would become a shrine that would be visited by multitudes, and that thus the divisive power of Jesus' memory would be perpetuated in the nation.

(5) The gardener, who owned the plot in front of the rocky ledge in which the tomb had been excavated, removed the body in order to keep his garden from being ruined by the tramping of the feet of Jesus' friends and followers who he expected would be flocking to visit the sepulchre as pilgrims to a shrine.

(6) The sepulchre was not vacated at all. The women who came to do homage to Jesus' body made a mistake and looked into an empty tomb nearby. They found a young man standing by its entrance. His question to them called forth the object of their visit. He realized their mistake and tried to help them. "He is not here," he said. "There is the place where they laid him"—pointing to a closed sepulchre. But in the dim light of the early dawn, and in their mental confusion, they understood him to mean that the grave by which he stood was really the place where Jesus' body had been laid, but that now it was not there. So they went back and reported to his disciples that Jesus

had risen from the dead. (This is the explanation proposed by Kirsopp Lake.)

It would be futile and wasteful to discuss any of these theories more in detail. They simply show how easy it is to account for the empty tomb, and how weak any argument built on its emptiness must be.

This weakness does not inhere in Paul's view of the resurrection—because he takes no account of the empty tomb. His conviction is based on the testimony of his own senses. He has seen the face of Jesus; he has heard the voice of Jesus. And his experience coincides with that of a large number of others ("above five hundred") who could say the same thing. Of these appearances of Jesus some explanation was necessary, and Paul found this in the reality of Jesus' restoration to the normal functions and relations of the life he had lived before his death upon the cross.

The comparison of Paul's view with that of the four evangelists shows further that the question of what happened in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was not answered in the same way by them and by him. To them, the question was a very simple one; Jesus returned from the grave exactly as he had been laid in the grave. To Paul, the answer was more elaborate. Jesus emerged with a body of a different kind. The two answers are not contradictory one of the other, but that of the evangelists is the more superficial, while Paul's is the more analytic. This difference must be viewed in the light of the following considerations.

(1) The evangelists did not need a full explanation of the fact which they were proclaiming and attesting. Their object in proclaiming it was not to add to the knowledge of men something hitherto unknown, but to prove the

Messiahship of Jesus. It was enough for this that men should be persuaded that Jesus had conquered death and entered upon a work of salvation and life. Resurrection, in whatever relation it left body and soul, was a proof of the Messiahship.

(2) They were not prepared for a full understanding of the mode of the resurrection. Their training, unlike that of Paul, had not put them into the position to face and answer such questions as "How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?" For them, these questions did not exist.

(3) One of them (Luke) introduces into the record details which when carefully considered are inconsistent with a pure bodily return of Jesus; for instance, that after his resurrection he was able to alter the appearance of his body, making it unrecognizable and again recognizable, and he could cause it to vanish and to reappear. These qualities of the risen body are inconsistent with its absolute identity with the pre-crucifixion body; they imply some change during the interval between the crucifixion and the resurrection. But Luke neither gives any explanation of this, nor does he seem conscious that an explanation is necessary or might be expected.

It is here that Paul's treatment of the resurrection develops its most interesting and illumining side. As contrasted with the Evangelists, he not only assumes but he positively asserts a change in the body of Jesus at the moment of the resurrection. It was a purely material (corporeal, physical, psychical) body before the resurrection; it became a spiritual (pneumatic) body in the process of rising from the grave and remained such always afterward. All true resurrection involves this radical change.

Just what was this change? The first line of thinking

started by this question is not a direct effort to answer the question as stated, but to make it unnecessary by reaching the reality in the case through the use of Paul's idea that the resurrection has a primarily spiritual significance. Jesus' body did not return from the grave. It was his personality that gained strength and worked in the minds and hearts of his followers independently of a material medium; his resurrection was a spiritual event. But what then of the accounts of his bodily appearances, and of the empty tomb? They are just the evidences of his new spiritual power—so the proponents of this new claim would have us believe. Jesus so gripped men's minds with the reality of his continued presence among them that legends of his return from the grave wove themselves into existence among those in the group to whom a pure, spiritual being was inconceivable.

This theory is further strengthened by an appeal to the well-known psychological fact that the mind of man finds the death of the outstanding, heroic-size personality shocking beyond expression. It will not accept the extinction of the hero without protest. "Thou wilt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption." Such a thought did, of course, play a part in the minds of the Apostolic Christians, since they used the familiar words of the Psalm as above quoted in their references to Jesus and his Messianic mission.

What actually happened, then, is that Jesus was buried; but after the lapse of a short time the power of his personality as cherished in the memory reasserted itself and a feeling of his presence was engendered, and the illusion in the minds of the faithful crystallized in the legends recorded in the narratives.

The difficulty with this theory is that it requires an extremely radical reconstruction of the commonly used his-

torical methods in the examination of records. It assumes the impossibility of the facts recorded and subjects the documents in which they are found to a process of purgation never elsewhere admitted. It interprets the documents before criticizing them, instead of criticizing them before proceeding to interpret. Moreover, with reference to Paul himself and his account of personal experiences, it ignores the impossibility of a legendary explanation.

Naturally reacting from this difficulty, others explain the spiritual resurrection theory on the basis of the mysterious psychical processes which for more than fifty years have been the subject of investigations by the Psychical Research Society. To use plain language, those who upon this basis call the resurrection of Jesus spiritual reduce the accounts of the Gospels and the statements of Paul to the same class of stories that have captivated the minds of the modern Spiritualists. Jesus gave evidence of his survival after death through "mediums" whose accounts, untested and unsifted by such men as Sir Oliver Lodge or Sir William Crookes, have persisted in the form in which we now find them in the New Testament.

Christian thinkers in general, however, have not been able to find any value in these suggestions. That, once accepted, the spiritualistic theory will help the conclusion on which the Christian through the ages has rested, is true. But as long as the whole spiritualistic system is on so precarious a basis from the point of view of true scientific standards, the Christian thinker will hesitate to use the help it seems to offer him. He will turn away from it with a *Non tali auxilio*.

Nearer satisfying the mind comes that variety of the spiritual resurrection theory which in general assumes that after his death and burial Jesus gave his disciples evidences of his triumph over death and of his personal power

to hold spiritual (mystical) communion with them. This procedure superinduced some experiences on their part which, though conveying real values, were not normal. Some would not hesitate to accept and apply to them the term hallucinatory.

The resurrection of Jesus, according to those who believe in and interpret it in this fashion, involves an objective reality, an actual event. But the real event was not a return of Jesus in the body; those parts of the narrative which convey this impression must be viewed as hallucinations. The objective element in the case was the real act of the immortal Jesus in making himself known to his friends.

When this view is further rationalized, the resurrection is compared to the theophanies of the Old Testament. God, who is a spirit, and always among the Israelites of all ages has been believed in as a spirit, is reported in several places in the Old Testament as making himself known and holding communications with men in physical form. Jesus' post-resurrection appearances are in perfect analogy to these theophanies, and may be called Christophanies. Just as Jehovah—a spirit—in the theophanies to Abraham or Isaiah could not be seen by anyone who was not prepared to see him, so Christ was never seen except by his disciples. Nor could he have been seen by a stranger, even though the stranger stood beside the disciple in space and time.

The appeal to the Old Testament theophany does not strengthen the spiritual resurrection theory. If anything, it detracts from its plausibility. There is so much about the language and modes of conception of the Old Testament writers which is symbolical and inheres in the vision form of casting their thoughts that it is precarious to re-

construct a system perfectly analogous to it on the basis of the facts presented in the New Testament.

As a whole, however, the spiritual resurrection theory, which interprets the resurrection as the presentation of the objective presence of Jesus perceived in a mystical fashion, is far preferable to any theory which either over-emphasizes the change from the common to the resurrection body which is so clearly stated by Paul, or completely ignores this change, as does the purely bodily resurrection theory.

But just what was this change that Paul pointed out? A careful examination is here necessary of Paul's world-view.

Yet the use of such a term as "world-view" is likely to mislead the modern man. World-views are both more complex and more fixed today than they were in the apostle's age. For Paul at least, a hard and fast metaphysics perfectly consistent in its logical articulations is out of the question. Though his conception of its reality is just as important to him as Aristotle's is to the Aristotelian philosophers, it is always secondary to the antecedent conviction that God exists as the supreme creator and ruler of the universe, and that he has made himself known to men through Jesus Christ. A full philosophy of the world is to Paul impossible if it leaves out of account the directly perceived reality of God in Jesus Christ the man. A world-view is simply an intellectually perceived framework of the totality of things, seen in its completeness by the whole knowing apparatus of man.

In such a world-view Paul includes a fluid or elastic fundamental idea of reality. The popular notion on this subject is, and undoubtedly always has been, that reality, whether in its essence or form, is twofold: material and

non-material. Applied to man, this means that he is a soul with a body, or a body with an indwelling soul. To Paul, reality is not exclusively represented in such a dualism.* In this dichotomy the corporeal element, at least, is subject to variations. As it touches the incorporeal it develops aspects, apparent qualities, and functions of very widely divergent types. "All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial. But the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory."

It is not necessary to discuss the logical or philosophical soundness of a view like this. It is sufficient that its author finds in matter itself a reality of differing adaptations and capable of being used in more than one way.

It may even be that he seized upon this view as a means of rationalizing a concept of which he saw the weakness, but did not see the obvious retort of some doubter who might challenge his process of reasoning. What if such a doubter should have countered by saying: "True enough, the bodies of the stars and the sun and the moon, of men and brutes, are different—but in the end they are all material. The substance of all is matter. After all, matter is matter, and there is an end of it"?

*Paul's metaphysical theory of reality is frequently called trichotomy, i.e., belief in three distinct substances, matter, soul-stuff and spirit, thus standing midway between monism and dualism. But he nowhere expounds such a view, and all that is implied in his writings is consistent with our interpretation of an underlying duality of matter and spirit, the former assuming an intermediate form when fully controlled by the latter. Body when not under control by spirit is still subject to an undesignated soul-principle (*psyche*), hence called "psychical" (I Cor. 15:44mg) in beings possessed of life and soul.

Such a retort might, or might not, have impressed Paul. The probability is that it would not have. For his faith in the immaterial side of matter was more deeply rooted than the bald dichotomy of the Stoics or the dualism of the Persian teachers. He felt that the matter which could furnish the sun with its body and the moon and stars with theirs, could not be in the ultimate analysis a rigid kind of stuff incapable of being fashioned into the body of the animated and spiritual being that man is even in his earthly life.

This intuition of Paul's is amply verified by the modern and purely analytical study of matter. Science, starting with the ultimate indivisible unit of matter which it inherited from Democritus and Lucretius under the name of atom, has now come to the notion of a point of energy, or a system of points of energy, variously called ion, electron, proton, neutron, cosmic ray and what not. But what is a point of energy? Bertrand Russell suggests that in dealing with these ultimate units science is concerned, not with facts, but with events.

This is a long way from the rigid conceptions of the materialists, either of the Encyclopaedist school of France or the monism of Haeckel in Germany. But it is a way that leads back to the position reached by Paul, without the least suspicion of the possibility of such processes as later on were to lead to it, and simply by an act of intuition. Matter does shade off into energy. And energy is nothing more or less than a phenomenon traceable to mind, soul or will. The corporeal shades off into the incorporeal.

In Paul's system of thought, then, it is an assumption that matter and spirit are not sharply set off one from the other. They are, rather, somehow kindred. There are mediating varieties of the one term of the dualism be-

tween matter and spirit which bring them into contact and relationship with each other.

But how are they related to each other? Three answers were given to this question before Paul had to face it. The oriental philosophers who were dominant in Mesopotamia asserted the independence and eternal co-existence of matter and spirit, co-ordinate though not harmonious with each other.

The second solution of the problem was that of the supremacy of matter and the subordination of the spirit to it. This harmonized with the indisputable fact that spirit is never observed to be active except in and through matter. Its functioning is apparently conditioned by matter.

The third answer to the question was the one worked into its complete form in the idealism of Plato. Matter is a dead weight in itself. Spirit is the dominant element. All value and all virtue, all power and all life, are spiritual. The body is a tool for the soul. The soul, when it has worn out a body, may desert it and seek and find another home in its place, or it may persist without, so far as we know, a bodily habitation and means of functioning.

Of these three views, Paul adopted the last. It fitted better than either of the others into his system. The spirit is supreme. The body is an instrument to be used by the spirit in perfecting its own life. He admits that in order of time the physical (natural, psychical) precedes (conditions) that which is spiritual. "Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual." But that which comes later in order of time is superior to that which precedes it. "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is of heaven."

Bodies are provided for living beings in order that they may live in harmony with the plan or pattern of their es-

sential being. "God giveth it (the bird, the fish, the beast) a body even as it pleased him. And to each seed a body of its own." The wide variety of bodies exists because there is a wide variety of patterns of life, each of which needs to be served by a different kind of body.

This principle throws a flood of needed light on the meaning of Paul's phrases, "spiritual body" and "natural body." One mode of interpreting them is to say that in Paul's mind there is an intermediate sort of substance which is neither matter nor spirit, but an element possessed of qualities of both matter and spirit. The notion is very common, and underlies all ghost stories. The stuff of this substance is conceived as a thin ethereal something which offers a picture to the eye but no resistance to the touch. This may possibly have been Paul's notion, too. But if so, it was because he found it helpful in conveying the deeper-lying reality of some instrument for the spirit to use in its self-expression and self-promotion.

The more satisfactory interpretation of the real nature of a "spiritual body" is simply that it is a body adapted to the needs of a spirit. Any body, therefore, which is completely under the control of the spirit, which fully and adequately serves the spirit, is a spiritual body.

Upon this understanding, one may confidently assert that if Paul had been conversant with the present-day theory that matter in the human body consists of cells, which in turn are made up of molecules, which again consist of atoms, which are nothing else than ions, electrons, protons, neutrons, emerging out of a problematical something called ether as centers of energy—that Paul, if confronted with this conception of matter, would have defined his "spiritual body" as a collection of ions, electrons, etc., so organized as to serve the pure spirit of man in its peculiar

need of an organ of self-expression. Is this too presumptuous a statement?

Let us suppose next that Paul had been conversant with another discovery or, to be more accurate, development of our day, also of a scientific order but in the realm of psychology, namely, that of variation in direct control of bodily functions by mind. Everyone is familiar with the two types of organic action in the human body, one of which is not under the control of the mind, such as the heart-beat and the whole associated circulatory system; the other of which is measurably under control, such as muscular movements of various kinds. That this distinction is a relative one has always been felt by most careful observers; but it was left to the present generation of scientists to ascertain that, beyond organic and functional control through conscious act of will, the mind also exercises subconsciously direct control over the tissues and the chemical changes in them. In illustration of this it will be sufficient to mention the recent open admission by medical men generally of the value of cheerfulness and hope in the treatment of bodily ailments. This is not a new discovery. The fact has always been dimly realized; but today it is freely used as a practical help.

Like all new discoveries or utilizations of old knowledge, this, too, has led to extremes of all sorts. It has given birth to cults such as Mental Science, Faith Healing, Christian Science and others, which single it out as the one central and supreme principle by which life must be governed. But because of exaggerations and abuses the solid kernel of truth in it should not be allowed to be lost to the store of the modern man's means of enriching his life. It should be recognized that he has much fuller mental control of his body than was formerly known.

The point of contact between this knowledge and Paul's conception of the resurrection is that mental control of physical organism is variable in different individuals. It has the possibility of increasing more and more, until it results in an absolute subjection of every unit of what we call matter to the rule of the mind. If it can be increased, can any limitation be placed to its increase? If by any possibility it can be increased to the *nth* degree, then it is clear that the mind which had attained to this degree of absolute control could, by an act of its own, refashion its body to satisfy all its natural and proper needs.

Such a mind would obviously be a "spirit" possessing and controlling a "spiritual body." The spiritual body thus conceived is a bodily organism usable, perfectible, and in every way pliable and subject to the will of the spirit. And spirit in this sense is just mind with power over its body raised to the *nth* degree. It might be presumptuous to claim that Paul, in some completely incomprehensible manner, had achieved the knowledge of this modern idea and believed that it was exemplified in the resurrection of Jesus. But it is not presumptuous to suppose that were Paul facing the idea as it now prevails among responsible thinkers, he would recognize it as a help to the understanding of his own experience on the way to Damascus, and, by implication, on later occasions also.

There remains one more fundamental idea of Paul's to consider in its relation to this subject. It is the idea of order or law.

Again, let us caution ourselves against being misled into attributing to the apostle notions beyond the ken of his age. When we speak of Paul as a believer in the reign of law in the universe we mean simply that, while he

considers the extraordinary as possible, and what we call the supernatural as certain, he never excludes the actual reality of order and its right of way as a principle of accounting for events. Order is a sign of God's way in the world. Even in the realm of personal relations, order is a test of the presence of the divine will. "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. For God is not the God of confusion but of peace." Therefore Paul does not rebuke the objector to the resurrection for wishing to understand how it occurs and what manner of body it requires; but he calls him foolish for not seeing the law and order that are working in the process.

His argument at this point is one from analogy. He notices transformations in the world of living things (plants and animals) according to law, and he alleges that a similar law must exist in that region of the world in which the resurrection is operated.

In Paul's thought, law is never to be placed in contrast with God's agency. The supernatural and the natural are not mutually exclusive rubrics. The same thing is under law and at the same time supernatural. God gives every seed the body into which it grows. But it grows in a uniform, dependable way, so that the process of its growth may be taken as an example of God's working in the creation of bodies as a class. The power and will of God are the supreme natural factors in it. The law of its emergence in nature is God's method of working.

The resurrection of Jesus is itself a result of the operation of a law of resurrection. Such a law exists. Jesus is the first instance of its operation—"the first fruit of them that are asleep. As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive; but each in his own order; Christ the first fruits; then they that are Christ's at his coming." If one were to have asked Paul why and on what ground

Christ appeared as the first instance of the operation of such a law, his answer would probably have been: In order that they who are Christ's might be conscious sharers with him in the work he did.

But here again, the underlying idea of a law of resurrection permits the thought that Christ met the condition which makes a blessing of such control of mind over body as is implied in the conception of the "spiritual body." To confer this power on those who are not prepared to use it in complete obedience to, and fulfilment of, the will of God, would not be a blessing but a curse. Jesus, by his full surrender of himself to the will of God, showed that he could be safely entrusted with the power to dissolve and reconstruct the natural instrument of his self-expression and thus transmute it into a glorified "spiritual body." God's plan for the world includes the development of an innumerable company who, through the knowledge of, and faith in, Christ, will be similarly qualified to possess this power of control.

In giving Jesus his spiritual body, God resembled a florist who in the dead of winter develops in a single plant the power to blossom, when according to its own law the plant must await the summer heat. The florist produces the conditions in his conservatory; and the plant, perfectly in harmony with the law of its being, puts forth its blossoms. The same law, however, is destined to bring blossoms to all the plants of its class. "Paul may plant and Apollos may water, but God giveth the increase." Man may see in the order or law of the resurrection a reality; but, seen alone, this reality only partially accounts for the miracle. A complete explanation must include God's controlling part in it. The relation of God to the natural is mysterious; but it must not be construed as contradicting or breaking into it.

Does, then, the apostle look upon the resurrection of Jesus as a miracle? Unquestionably—if by miracle be meant an event that arouses wonder and points to God. But if the notion of miracle be made to exclude that of law, there was no miracle when Jesus rose from the dead, because the event was only a first instance of what every human being is destined to experience when the suitable conditions have been actualized in his case.

To review and sum up Paul's idea of the resurrection, we must include the following points:

(1) Resurrection is the restoration of activity and re-activity to a human bodily life after these have disappeared in death.

(2) Among the Jews such an experience was by the most intelligent and broad-minded considered a possible one. Among the Greeks it was viewed as a grotesque oriental superstition. The Greeks generally believed, however, with Plato that the human personality is immortal independently of the body. To the Jews this bodiless immortality of the soul was an inconceivable absurdity. Paul, following the suggestion of Jesus in his answer to the representatives of the Pharisees and Sadducees,* made the synthesis of the Jewish and Greek conceptions by propounding the hypothesis of a "spiritual body."

(3) The cosmological theory which underlies this synthesis, though not systematically presented by Paul, assumes a duality of substances—matter and the non-material. But the non-material is essentially affiliated with the divine, and, though conditioned now on the material, is, upon harmonizing itself perfectly with the will

* Mt. 22:33-37. Instead of taking sides with either Pharisees or Sadducees, he emphasizes the fact that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are immortal since God calls himself their God, irrespective of any resurrection of theirs.

of God, destined to free itself and use the material as its tool.

Paul's immediate object did not call for an answer to the question why at present matter is so necessary to mind (spirit). His cosmogony presumably assumed that God produced matter and mind by a creative act, and put them in their present and future relations. But had he found himself faced by the evolutionary hypothesis that, antecedent to the present order in which mind and matter exist as conditioning and conditioned, there was another order in which matter existed alone and uncontrolled by anything outside its own laws, he might readily have arranged cosmic history in three stages: first, matter alone, sovereign and absolute; second, mind in partial control of matter, but conditioned by it; third, mind unconditioned by matter and absolutely in control of it.

Something like this is suggested by Bergson in his *Matière et Mémoire*. "The facts of memory can be explained only on the hypothesis that the major part of the psychic activity is independent of the body. Our souls are like cones with their apexes only inserted in matter." This thought is further elucidated by the suggestion of J. A. Hadfield in *Immortality* "that in the course of evolution the mind shows a tendency to free itself from physical control, and breaking loose from its bonds, to assert its independence, and live a life indetermined, except by the laws of its own existence."

(4) Fitting into this system come the facts of which Paul has imprinted in his own memory the indelible record, namely, that he has seen Jesus of Nazareth, in a material form; that he has heard his voice and received from him a commission which he has since been carrying out, and, finally, that he has the testimony of many others who had the same vision of the same risen Lord. Whether the

body of Jesus was an ordinary body of a man, or an etherealized body which could be materialized at the will of its owner, or only a dynamic spiritual reality subjectively operating (a case of pure spiritual resuscitation) would be indifferent to him. The fact of the presence of Jesus in the vision was the certainty to which he gave his attestation.

(5) The resurrection of Jesus has for Paul a double religious significance. In the first place, it confirms and validates the Christian faith. The gospel that he was preaching evinced great power. That power was an evidence of its reality as an historic fact. But the historic fact was an evidence of the validity of the faith built upon it. The risen Christ spiritually working could enter into personal relations with believers. Thus the mystical relation of the Christian and his Lord was realized.

The other side of the religious significance of Jesus' resurrection is the eschatological guarantee of the believer's own resurrection. Christ did not rise from the grave as an isolated prodigy. If the resurrection of Jesus is unique, it is unique as the first instance of the law of resurrection. In other words, it is one of innumerable applications of a law.

Finally, for the Christian that law is of living importance. Paul's thought culminates in an inescapable practical bearing: "Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."

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